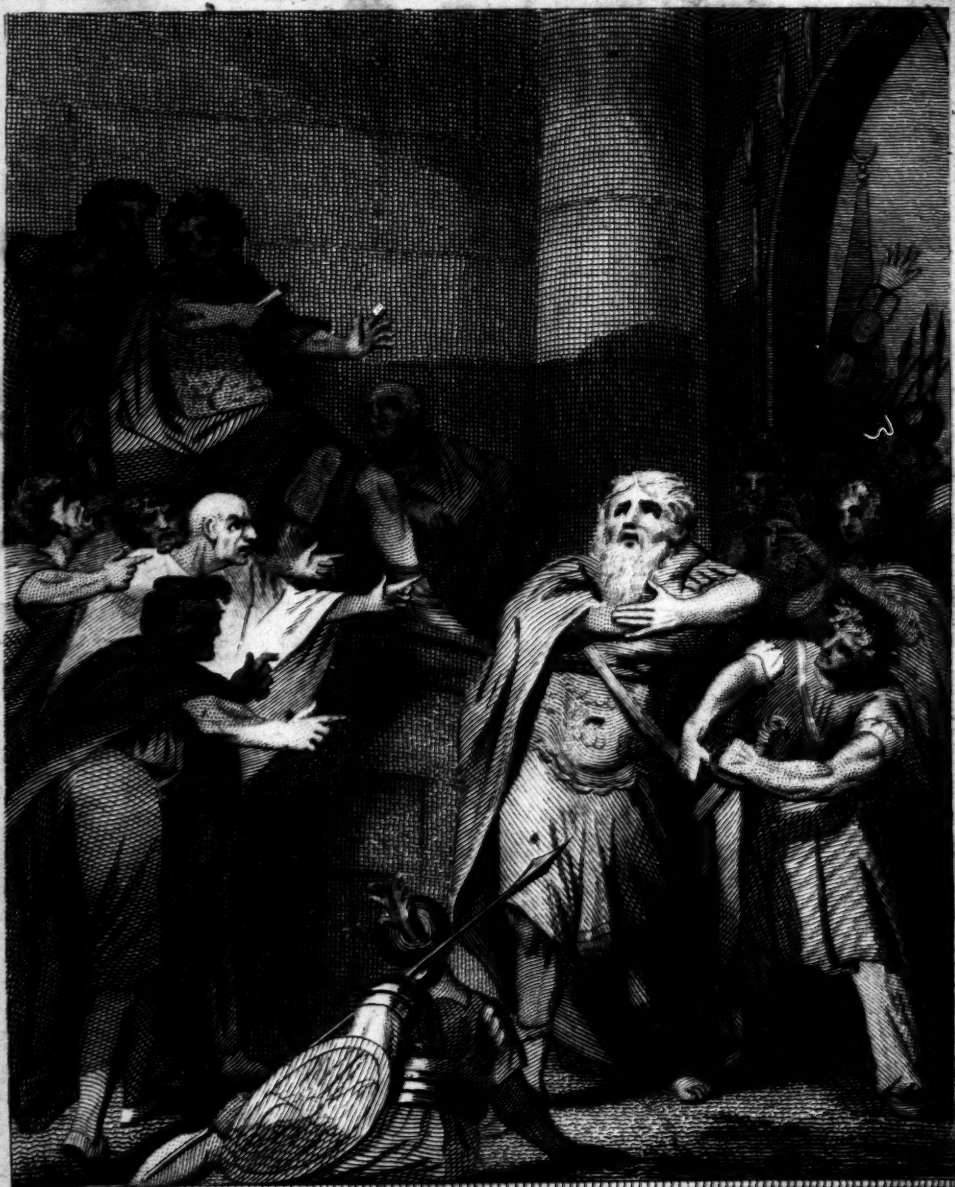


Belisarius falsely accused & disgraced
before the Emperor Justinian.

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Belisarius falsely accused & disgraced
before the Emperor Justinian.

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THE
ROMAN HISTORY,
CONTINUED FROM THE
SECOND CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA
TO THE
DESTRUCTION
OF
THE GREEK EMPIRE
BY THE TURKS.

*Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur;
utquæ pravis dictis factisque ex Posteritate et infamiâ
metus fit.* TACIT.

BY
J. WARBURTON.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

1792.

8



DEDICATION.

TO

THE HONOURABLE

Lord David William Murray,

ELDEST SON OF

LORD VISCOUNT STORMONT.

MY LORD,

AT a time when the cause of Freedom and liberality of opinion are extirpating, from the legal codes of Europe, the *rust* accumulated by a long series of feudal oppression and priestly contrivances to enslave mankind; at a time when the alliance between thrones and altars to rob the people of their freedom and property, under the mask of religion, is nearly broken by the diffusion of science; and, at a time when the knowledge of the rights

of humanity has emancipated twenty-four millions of human beings, inhabiting the most luxuriant part of Europe, from the shackles of despotism, and converted their monarch into the first magistrate of a free people. In this state of the regeneration of the political world, when the gloomy abodes of tyrants have been shaken to their foundations, by the recent fall of the *Temple of Despotism*, the study of History becomes necessary to youth of all descriptions, and peculiarly so to those of your Lordship's class, the hereditary legislators of their country.

With these views, I have dedicated to your attention an *outline* of that vast mass of historical materials composing the **DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE**, with the rise of the modern nations of Europe upon its ruins, including a review of the progress of society. Herein you will behold priests and tyrants, under the banners of the Prince of Peace, whose characteristic is brotherly love, deluging whole nations in human blood and the horrors of superstition, and, for their mutual aggrandisement, chaining the labouring peasants to the soil, and conveying them with flocks and herds to their feudal descendants.

DEDICATION.

Though your Lordship be born a legislator and a judge, let it remain indelible on your mind, that there is no magic power in the combination of the letters which compose your hereditary title; and that, when unaccompanied with real merit, it is but a poor unmeaning epithet, capable only of pleasing effeminate vanity and attracting coxcomical admiration. Though no committee of that august assembly of which you may be an hereditary member will be instituted to enquire, whether you be worthy of the distinguished honours of your ancestors, and though your admission be in consequence of your *birth*, yet, your countrymen, who, in this age are imbibing the Rights of Man, will examine your real merits, and pronounce in the sense of Juvenal, That virtue alone is true nobility. *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus**.

* The reply of Maximilian, the German emperor, to one of his subjects soliciting to be *called* noble, is worthy the adoption even of *British* monarchs. The arrogant petitioner for a haughty *name* was dismissed. "I am able to make you *rich*, but *virtue* must make you noble," was the manly response of the reprov-
ing emperor.

The example of your noble father will teach you to distinguish between *salutary reform* and *visionary innovation*, and that human institutions like the purest streams, may some times require to be cleared of those *weeds* which they have accumulated in flowing through the contaminating ages of superstition. That while the Scriptures themselves are allowed to be the *Rule of faith*, the legislature of a free people are to protect religious liberty and to see that the sacerdotal robe be not a mask to hypocrisy, assumed to aid the alliance between the throne and the altar, and to extort the property of the people rather than to promulgate the pure and equitable doctrine of brotherly love. He will point out to you the nefarious intention of those who contend that magnificence and opulence are proper appendages to the ministers of a divine and humble religion, and will demonstrate, that whatever religion flows from a divine origin will make its way among mankind without the paltry aids of pecuniary extortion; that eternal happiness is a sufficient lure for every good man, and that the present unequal distribution of Church emoluments disgrace it.

But

DEDICATION.

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But even the brilliant abilities, the venerable patriotism and the manly virtues of your noble father, will be insufficient to protect or excuse, from public infamy or disgrace, any proceedings, in your future senatorial or judicial functions, which may be derogatory to the permanent interests of a free people.

Pardon the presumption of an individual for announcing and declaring to your Lordship, the present age an æra the most pregnant, in the authentic annals of time, with events capable of exciting youth of your rank to a love for those noble, benevolent and philosophic principles, which, in imitation of the Omnipotent himself, include the whole race of mankind in their liberal and extensive designs. Though ancient prejudices may make the opponents of liberty numerous, and interested and fordid views may, for a few years, make them formidable, yet let this reflection support you in the glorious career, that the heroic defenders of the cause of humanity will illuminate the splendid pages of history, while the proceedings of her enemies will foil them, and receive an augmentation to their native deformity, by

being re-echoed in maternal murmurs and infantine rehearsals.

Let us rejoice with that temperance which ever accompanies the tranquil smiles of real pleasure, that in our days tyranny and oppression, which, for so many centuries, have stalked with sanguinary strides over their devoted domains, clothed in sacerdotal robes, to delude her unfortunate victims, have received a wound, for which all the quackery of priests and tyrants will ever be unable to find a remedy.

I am, My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient,

J. WARBURTON.

PREFACE

P R E F A C E.

TO those intelligent instructors of youth, who elevate the business of education above that of adjusting the final inflections of words and the measuring of syllables, little of apology, and less ceremony, will be sufficient for submitting to their notice the following HISTORY OF THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, in a size adapted to their seminaries. They will be equally ready to acquiesce in the masculine sentiment of the philosophic Bolingbroke, "That the School of Example is the World, and that the Masters of this School are History and Experience."

While the precepts of the moralist are allowed to be subject to the disadvantages of dryness and inefficacy, the task of the historian is more pleasing and instructive; to point out the paths of *rectitude* to future generations, by exhibiting to their view, in proper colours, the actions of their fel-

low-creatures in different capacities, ages, and nations; and to pourtray as it were a *chart* of the human passions, noting by proper beacons the prominent dangers of revenge, self-love, envy, and despair.

For this purpose, the causes and events which produced the fall of the Roman empire, and the establishment of modern nations upon its ruins, will incontestibly be allowed as the most important in the annals of time, though considerably enveloped with clouds of ignorance and superstition.

While the compiler of the following sheets forbears to particularize the frivolousness and effeminacy of certain branches of modern education, he rejoices to see the most eminent in the profession recommending the study of history as the most likely to eradicate that effeminacy, the most consonant to the manly spirit of Englishmen, and the fittest to form the liberal citizen of the world, who, despising local prejudices, regards every human being with a fraternal eye, and looks "through Nature up to " Nature's God."

In composing the following sheets, the author would have been guilty of arrogance, and too great a confidence in his own abilities,

lities had he not availed himself of the eminent performance of the celebrated Historian of our age and country, whose *DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE* is the delight of every man of elegance and taste, and in future ages will be the boast of Britons, when the insidious attacks of his enemies are sunk in oblivion. The other authorities to whom he is indebted, are Mil-
lot, Robertson, and the *Universal History*.

To avoid any imputation of endeavouring to promulgate any particular tenets of religion, every article respecting theological controversy has been carefully rejected, and religious liberty inculcated in general terms.

The place that this compendium may claim in the grand scale of history, is that of following Dr. Goldsmith's *Roman History*, of the same size.

Whether a regular concatenation of historical events and their causes be better adapted to form the judgment and improve the mind of the young historian, than detached, unconnected pieces, lately introduced into schools, must be left to the decision of the intelligent instructor.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS.

	A. D.
A UGUSTUS reigned until	14
Tiberius	37
Caligula	41
Claudius	54
Nero	68
Julius Vindex among the Gauls; L. Claudius Macer, in Africa; and Fonteius-Capito, in Germany.	
Galba	69
Otho	69
Vitellius	69
Vespasian	79
Titus	81
Domitian	96
Nerva	98
Trajan	117
Adrian	138
Antoninus Pius	161
Marcus Aurelius	180
And Lucius Verus	169
Commodus	192
Pertinax	193
Didius Julianus and the three following	197
Niger, Albin, Septimus Severus.	211
Caracalla	

Caracalla	—	217
Geta	—	212
Macrinus	—	218
Heliogabalus	—	222
Alexander Severus	—	235
Maximian	—	238
Gordian the elder, Gordian the son	—	237
Maximus and Balbinus	—	238
Gordian the young	—	244
Philip, father and son	—	249
Decius	—	251
Gallus, and the two following	—	253
Hostilianus	—	252
Volusianus	—	253
Emilianus	—	253
Valerian and	—	260
Gallienus his son	—	268
Claudius II. Quintillius his brother	—	270
Aurelian	—	275
Tacitus, Florianus, 3 months	—	276
Probus	—	282
Carus	—	283
Carinus, and Numerian, his brother	—	285
Dioclesian, Maximian-Herculus abdicated	—	305
Constance	—	306
Galerius	—	311
Severus II. with the three following	—	307
Maximin	—	313
Constantine the Great	—	337
Constantine the younger	} Brothers	340
Constantius		361
Constans		350
Magnentius, a usurper, fell upon his sword	—	353
Julian		

ROMAN EMPERORS.

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A. D.

Julian	—	—	369
Jovian	—	—	364
Valentinian in the west	—	—	375
Valens in the east	—	—	370
Gratian	—	—	383
Valentine II.	—	—	392
Theodosius the Great	—	—	395
Here began the division of the empire into the Eastern and Western.			

EMPERORS OF THE WEST.

Honorius, the son of Theodosius, Hera-	clian and Attala	—	395
Valentinian III.	—	—	424
Petronius-Maximus	—	—	455
Avitus	—	—	455
An inter-regnum	—	—	456
Majorian	—	—	457
Severus III.	—	—	461
An inter-regnum for more than a year	—	—	465
Anthemius	—	—	467
Olybrius	—	—	472
Glycerius	—	—	473
Julius Nepos	—	—	474
Augustulus, was the last Roman emperor in the West.	—	—	475

KINGS OF ITALY.

Odoacer reigned in	—	476
Theodoric	—	493

	A. D
Athalaric	— 526
Theodat	— 534
Vitiges	— 536
Theodebald	— 540
Araric or Eraric	— 541
Totila or Baduilla	— 541
Teias was the last king	— 552
Narfes governed during 15 years	— 552
The kings of Italy were succeeded by the following	

KINGS OF LOMBARDY.

Alboin until	— 571
Clephis	— 574
Autharis	— 590
Agilufe	— 616
Adaloald	— 629
Aroivald	— 630
Rotharis	— 646
Rodoald	— 651
Aribert	— 661
Godebert	— 662
Grimoald	— 671
Garibald	
Pertharite	— 668
Cumbert the Pious	— 700
Luitpert reigned eight months	— 701
Aritbert	— 712
Luitprand and Hildebrand	— 736
Rachis	— 749
Aistolf	

ROMAN EMPERORS.

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A. D.

Astolfe — 756
Didier — 774

Here ends the kingdom of the Lombards;
Charlemagne, having defeated the people,
took the name of king of Italy; but as
Italy was frequently joined to the empire
of the West, we shall proceed to the

EMPERORS OF THE WEST,

OR, OF

GERMANY.

Charlemagne from 800 till	—	814
Lewis	—	840
Lothairia I.	—	855
Lewis II.	—	875
Charles the Bald	—	877
Charles the Fat	—	888
Gui	—	894
Arnoul	—	899
Lewis III.	—	912
Conrad I.	—	918
Henry the Fowler	—	936
Otho the Great	—	973
Otho the Second	—	983
Otho the Third	—	1002
Henry the Second	—	1024
Conrad II. the Salique	—	1039
Henry III. the Black	—	1056
Henry IV.	—	1106
Henry V.	—	1125

	A. D.
Lothaire II.	— 1137
Conrad III.	— 1152
Frederic I.	— 1190
Henry VI.	— 1197
Philip	— 1208
Otho IV.	— 1218
Frederic II.	— 1250
Conrad IV.	— 1254
William	— 1256
Troubles and an inter-regnum	— 1273
Rodolphus of Harpsbourg	— 1291
Adolphus of Nassau	— 1298
Albert of Austria	— 1308
Henry VII. of Luxemburgh	— 1313
Lewis of Bavaria	— 1347
Charles IV.	— 1378
Winceslaus deposed in	— 1400
Robert, Palatine of the Rhine	— 1410
Joshua of Moravia, four months	— 1411
Sigismund of Luxemburgh	— 1438
Albert II. of Austria	— 1439
Frederic III.	— 1493
Maximilian I.	— 1519
Charles V.	— 1557
Ferdinand I.	— 1564
Maximilian II.	— 1576
Rodolphus II.	— 1612
Matthius	— 1619
Ferdinand II.	— 1637
Ferdinand III.	— 1658
Leopold	— 1705
Joseph I.	— 1711
Charles VI.	— 1740

Here ends the princes of the house of Austria.

ROMAN EMPERORS.

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A. D.

Charles VII. of Bavaria, was murdered	—	1745
Francis I. Duke of Lorraine	—	1765
Joseph II. died	—	1790
Leopold began to reign	—	1790

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

The emperors of Constantinople, till after the death of Theodosius, acted in concert with the emperors of Rome; and these two empires were accounted but one: But under the children of Theodosius these empires were totally separated, and took the names of the *Eastern* and *Western* empires.

Arcadius reigned till	—	408
Theodosius II. died	—	450
Marcian	—	457
Leo I.	—	474
Leo II. the younger	—	474
Zeno	—	491
Basiliscus, Marcian and Leoncius		
Anastasius I.	—	518
Justin I.	—	527
Justinian I.	—	565
Justin II.	—	578
Tiberius II.	—	582
Maurice	—	602
Phocas	—	610
Heraclius	—	641
Heraclius-Constantine, reigned three months	—	641
Heracleonas		

	A. D.
Heracleonas, 7 months	641
Tiberius, a few days	641
Constans II.	668
Maurice and Gregory	
Constantine III. called Pogonatus	685
Justinian II.	695
Leoncius	698
Abdimarius Tiberius	705
Justinian II. restored	711
Philippique-Bardane	713
Anastasius II.	715
Theodosius III.	717
Leo III.	741
Constantine Copronymus	775
Artabasdus, Nicephorus, Nicetas	
Leo IV.	780
Constantine V. and Irene	797
Irene alone	802
Nicephorus, Stourace 2 months after	811
Michael Curopalatus	813
Leo the Armenian	820
Michael	829
Theophilus	842
Michael III.	867
Basil the Macedonian	886
Leo the Philosopher	911
Alexander	912
Constantine VI. Christopher Etienne,	}
Constantine VII.	
Romanus II.	963
Nicephorus Phocas	969
John Zimisces	976
Basil II.	1025
Constantine	

ROMAN EMPERORS.

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A. D.

Constantine VIII.	—	1028
Romanus Argyrus	—	1034
Michael IV. the Paphlagonian	—	1041
Michael Calaphatus	—	1042
Zoe and Theodora, sisters, two months.	—	1042
Constantine Monomachus	—	1054
Theodora, Empress	—	1056
Michael VI.	—	1057
Isaac Comneus	—	1059
Constantine X.	—	1067
Michael Andronicus	—	1068
Romanus Diogenes	—	1071
Michael Ducas, alone	—	1078
Nicephorus Botoniatus	—	1081
Alexis Comnenus	—	1118
John Comnenus	—	1143
Manuel Comnenus	—	1180
Alexis Comnenus	—	1183
Andronicus Comnenus	—	1185
Isaac Angelus	—	1185
Alexis Angelus	—	1203
Alexis Ducas, Murtzuffe	—	1204
Baudouin	—	1206
Henry, his brother	—	1216
Robert of Courtenay	—	1228
Theodorus Lascaris I.	—	1222
John Ducas	—	1255
Michael Paleologus	—	1261
Andronicus	—	1332
John Paleologus	—	1391
Manuel Paleologus	—	1425
John Paleologus II.	—	1448
Constantine		

Constantine Paleologus, in whose reign Mahomet, emperor of the Turks, took Constantinople. } 1453

KINGS OF FRANCE.

Pharamond	-	—	420
Clodion	-	—	448
Merovia	-	—	456
Childeric	-	—	481
Clovis I.	-	—	511

Division of the kingdom among the sons of Clovis.

Thierri died at Metz	-	—	534
Clodomir died at Orleans	-	—	524
Childebert died at Paris	-	—	558
Clotaire I. died at Soissons	-	—	561
Another division among the sons of Clotaire	-	—	561
Charibert died at Paris	-	—	567
Gontran died at Orleans	-	—	593
Chilperu at Soissons	-	—	584
Sigebert at Metz	-	—	575
Clotaire II.	-	—	628
Dagobert	-	—	638
Clovis II.	-	—	655
Clotaire III.	-	—	670
Childeric II.	-	—	673
Thierri II. deposed, and re-established	-	—	691
Clovis III.	-	—	695
Childebert II.	-	—	711
Dagobert II.	-	—	715
Clotaire	-	—	719
Childeric III.	-	—	752

ROMAN EMPERORS.

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A. D.

Here begins the second Race.

Pepin	—	768
Charlemagne	—	814
Lewis I.	—	840
Charles the Bald	—	877
Lewis II.	—	879
Lewis III.	—	882
Carloman	—	884
Charles the Fat	—	888
Eudes	—	898
Charles III. the Simple	—	929
Robert the Usurper	—	922
Raoul	—	936
Lewis IV.	—	954
Lothaire	—	986
Lewis V.	—	987

Here begins the third race.

BRANCH OF THE CAPETS.

Hugh Capet	—	996
Robert	—	1031
Henry	—	1060
Philip I.	—	1108
Lewis VI.	—	1137
Lewis VII. called the Young	—	1180
Philip II.	—	1225
Lewis VIII.	—	1226
St. Lewis IX.	—	1270
Philip III.	—	1285
Philip the Fair IV.	—	1314
Lewis		

	A. D.
Lewis X.	— 1316
Philip V.	— 1322
Charles IV.	— 1328
Philip VI. of Valois	— 1350
Charles VI. the Beloved	— 1422

TURKISH EMPERORS.

Othman, or Osman made himself master of many provinces of Asia Minor; his successors destroyed the empire of the Saracens founded by the prophet Mahomet in 622.

Orchan or Orkan	— 1360
Amurat I.	— 1389
Bajazet I.	— 1403
Soliman I.	— 1410
Musa Chelebi	— 1413
Mahomet I.	— 1421
Amurat II.	— 1451
Mahomet II.	— 1481
Bajazet II.	— 1512
Selim I.	— 1520
Soliman II.	— 1564
Selim II.	— 1574

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Second and third crusades. Conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, king of Egypt and Syria. Richard the First of England. Fourth and fifth crusades. Louis the Ninth of France. The grand division of the third crusade, led on by Frederic Barbarossa. The emperor drowned. Chatillon struck on the head by Saladin, and dispatched by the guards. The Christians repulsed by Saladin. The siege of Acre.

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The eastern emperors apply for assistance to the Pope. Union of the Greek and Latin churches. Reign of Amurath the Second. Reign of Mahomet the Second. Siege, and final conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. Death of Constantine Palæologus. The Greeks send an embassy to the Ottoman court at Adrianople respecting the choice of a Greek emperor. The character of Mahomet the Second, the conqueror of Constantinople.

CHAP. XX.

The political constitution of France in the middle ages. The monarchs of France extend their prerogative. The introduction of standing armies into Europe. Italy invaded by Charles the Eighth of France. Other nations imitate France, and introduce mercenary

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nary troops among their feudal forces. Lewis the Eleventh humbles the nobility. The mild reign of Charles the Eighth revived the spirit of the French. Florence, Pisa, and Rome, open their gates to the French. The emperor Maximilian and the Italian states form a combination against Charles. He loses all his Italian conquests, and returns to France. The rise of the balance of power in Europe.

INTRODUCTION.

HOWEVER flattering imperial grandeur and tyrannical magnificence may be to human vanity, the friend of humanity* will ever confess, that the native dignity, the native manners, and rude virtues of the free barbarian, are superior to all the false elegance that can be taught a slave.

Whenever the condition of a nation is such as obliges the subject to look up to a tyrant for honour and consequence, to flatter his foibles, and to fear his frown, cunning is substituted for wisdom, and treachery for fortitude, the mind loses its vigour, the heart its generosity, and man is more or less debased in proportion to the polish he receives.

This truth is exemplified in the history of the Roman empire. The degrading influence of its dominion, more than any other circumstance, hastened its final dissolution; the nations they subdued imbibed their crimes, and their luxuries; and in a few centuries the descendants of those gallant warriors who had disputed the field with the Roman legions under Cæsar and Germani-

* Plus l'homme est resté près de sa condition naturelle plus la différence de ses facultés à ses desirs est petite & moins par conséquent il est éloigné d'être heureux. — ROUSSEAU.

cus, were unable to oppose the most desultory inroads of a troop of undisciplined barbarians. Hence all the countries, which had been subjected to the Roman yoke, fell an easy prey to the first invader, after the imperial banners were withdrawn.

This debility, occasioned by the unwieldy corpulence of the Roman empire, was one among many other causes which contributed to its dissolution. While Rome was a republic she had dignity of sentiment, love of liberty, and contempt of danger and of death: but the continual jealousy between the patricians and the plebeians, the senate and the people, without any balancing power, made the ruin of the republic inevitable, when their manners were relaxed. And it was in the delicious climate and pleasurable groves of Asia, says Sallust, that the army of the Roman people first learned to abandon themselves to wine and women—to admire pictures, statues, and vases of curious workmanship, and to spare nothing civil or sacred to come at the possession of them.

While Carthage subsisted and the Gauls had possessions in the neighbourhood of Rome, her citizens were united by the sense of common danger, but when these fears of danger were removed, the people became ungovernable.

Ambitious men took advantage of their licentiousness; factions were created, and a master became necessary, in order to terminate the horrors of civil war, as well as to give union and vigour to the state. Interest and vanity produced courtiers;

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courtiers; force or fear created slaves; the people were disarmed by the jealousy of despotism, and corrupted by the example of an abandoned court; and the imperial purple was stained with debauchery, profligacy, and every atrocious crime. Disputed successions made the army sensible of the power of creating emperors; and the very name of discipline was a signal for revolt. The armies of Rome no longer consisted of free men, but of mercenaries collected from the provinces, or barbarians bribed into the service, as fitter for the fatigues of war; they were licensed robbers, and infamous plunderers.

Tyranny was transferred from the soldiery to the princes, shut up within the walls of a palace, surrounded by flatterers and women, and sunk in the softness of eastern luxury, those masters of empire governed in secret by the dark and subtle artifices of despotism. The warrior and the politician daily saw themselves at the mercy of sycophants, who had neither ability to serve the state themselves, nor generosity to suffer others to serve it with honour and integrity.

The removal of the imperial court to Constantinople and the subsequent division of the empire into the eastern and western, have been esteemed as inimical to the grandeur of Rome, and likewise to its security: for the veteran legions that guarded the banks of the Rhine, and the Danube, were removed to the east to guard another frontier; and Italy, robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, sunk into a state of the most abject languor.

These misfortunes of Rome were accelerated by religious discords, or rather by the arts of priests and tyrants working upon the weak and credulous populace.

As the Christians had formerly been persecuted, they in their turn became persecutors.

The Gods of Rome were publicly insulted, their statues were broken, their votaries were molested in their public worship.

The punishment of death was denounced against the sacrifices formerly ordained by law, "and the banners of the cross were erected on the ruins of the capitol." An universal bigotry debased the minds of men. In a grand assembly of the provinces, it was proposed, that, as there are three persons in the Trinity, they ought to have three emperors.

The Epicurean sect, which introduced itself into Rome towards the decline of the republic, has been charged with contributing to the corruption of Roman manners and dignity. Its baneful influence had contaminated and enervated the morals of Greece long before it reached the army and senate of Rome. Plutarch informs us, that, when this sect was the subject of conversation at the table of Pyrrhus, Fabricius, the Roman general, wished that all the enemies of Rome might imbibe such principles. The superiority of Roman integrity to Grecian depravity, we learn from the pages of Polybius; "if you lend to the Greeks, says that historian, a talent of gold or silver with all the precautions of promises and witnesses, yet
" it

“ it is impossible to keep clear of the arts of deception ; but the Romans are religiously punctual in keeping their promises. They have therefore wisely established a fear of hell, and “ it is without reason that it is disputed now.”

But there is a fact in one of the letters of* Cicero to Atticus, which shows us how far the Romans were changed in this respect since the time of Polybius : we there see all the duplicity of Roman negotiation in the case of Memmius and the senate.

The contemplation of the fall of the Roman empire naturally suggests this important lesson to the philosophic legislator : that there is a great difference between those laws framed for conquest and those made for securing dominion when it is acquired. A wise republic ought not to expose itself to the caprices of fortune by wars to extend its empire ; the only good to which it ought to aspire is to perpetuate its own establishment. The extension of dominion ruined the Roman republic, and the grandeur of the city caused its own destruction. While Italy was the boundary of the former it subsisted without great commotion : every soldier was a citizen, and ever consul raised an army. But when the legions passed the Alps and the sea, and were obliged to continue several campaigns in the countries they subdued, they lost by degrees the spirit of citizens ; and the generals, who had armies and kingdoms in their power, began to know their importance, and to cease to obey.

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* Lib. 4. Epist. 13.

After the effeminacy of Diocletian had suggested the idea of having associates in the government of the empire, the lives of the emperors began to be more subject to jealousy and flattery. The forms and the administration of justice began to be more iniquitous, the court was governed and did govern with more artifice and greater silence, but with no less cruelty or oppression.

The vices of feeble minds sunk in luxury were every where beheld: and the meditated crimes of a debilitated people succeeded to the errors of a hardier race.

The emperors began to sink into the luxuries of Asia, and when Julian wished to restore the dignified manners of his ancestors, they called it an attempt to corrupt the customs of the age.

The opulence of the west was drawn away in a considerable degree by the removal of the seat of empire to the east, yet we are assured that at the taking of Rome by Alaric, the revenues of many private families amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. This is an evident proof that the substance of the nation was devoured by the great, and that crimes were multiplied, and misery aggravated by a vicious luxury. Continual revolutions convulsed the empire: as a proof of this, during the short period of fifty years after the time of Alexander Severus, more than fifty Cæsars were proclaimed and murdered by the soldiery, as ready to revolt and to rebel as they were indifferent to the glory of their country. The reign of Valens furnishes

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two examples of kings massacred as they rose from table. To this abject state was Roman hospitality reduced, while even barbarians exercised it with the greatest freedom.

The vices of the government strengthened every day these principles of destruction.

Theodosius himself was deficient in political concerns. He declared a religious sect called Manichians, to be worthy of death, and was afterwards obliged to defend the murders which his impolitic law had occasioned. His two sons Arcadius and Honorius, by their superstition accelerated the destructive torrent which had long threatened the distracted empire.

The city of Rome, the ancient seat of empire, was exposed to the ravages of arms and of famine; the extent of its walls encreased the difficulties of its defence; and as it was situated in a plain, it was easily forced to yield to the depredations of besiegers, whose labours were lessened by the retiring of the emperors and citizens to Ravenna.

The courage and politics of the Barbarian conquerors, the vices and crimes of the conquered, will best explain the inroads of those northern hords, whose ancient manners we shall now describe.

As the most civilized nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany, and as the original principles of our present laws and manners are easily distinguishable in the rude institutions of those barbarians, their ancient laws and customs possess the strongest claim to our attention and regard. The Germans in their

B 4

primitive

primitive state of simplicity and independence were delineated by the masterly pencil of Tacitus.

Several concurring circumstances lead us to think it probable, that the woods and morasses of Germany in their ancient state were more intensely cold than in their present improved and cultivated state. Modern improvements sufficiently explain the diminution of cold. Canada, at this day has been called an exact picture of ancient Germany.

Doubtless the keenness of the air contributed to form the limbs of the ancient Germans larger and more masculine than those of the inhabitants of the south. The severity of a winter campaign, that chilled the courage of the Roman troops, was scarcely felt by these hardy children of the north.

The Germans in the age of Tacitus were unacquainted with the use of letters, the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilized people from a herd of savages, incapable of knowledge or reflection. They were wretchedly destitute of the useful arts of life. They passed their lives in a state of ignorance and poverty, to which some have given the appellation of virtuous simplicity, neither stone nor brick were employed in their habitations, each barbarian fixed his solitary and independent hut on that spot to which a plain, a wood, or a stream of water, had induced him to give the preference.

The game with which the forests of Germany abounded supplied its inhabitants with food and exercise; and their herds of cattle were the principal objects of their wealth. The uses of

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iron, and the value of gold and silver were to them almost equally unknown.

Like most savage nations, a supine indolence and indifference for futurity constituted their general character. The Germans were not possessed of the varied resources of modern luxury to melt down the languid hours of indolent supineness. While the lazy warrior, destitute of every art that might employ his leisure, consumed his days and nights in the animal gratification of sleep and food, the management of the house, the land and cattle were delegated to the old and the infirm, to women and slave; and yet the sound that summoned him to arms was grateful to his ear, roused him from his uncomfortable lethargy, and restored him to a more lively sense of his existence. A love of strong liquor, with a ferocious and cruel treatment of their fallen enemies, were numbered among the leading vices of the ancient Germans.

A serious enquiry into the causes of population seems to have convinced modern philosophers of the fallacy of the opinion, that the inhabitants of the north were far more numerous in the age of Cæsar and Tacitus, than they are in our days. The return of famine was sometimes alleviated by the emigration of a third part of their youth. As the inhabitants of these extensive and dreary woods, carried with them what they most valued, their arms, their cattle, and their women, they cheerfully, abandoned the vast silence of their woods for the unbounded hopes of plunder and conquest.

Of all the interesting inquiries we are induced to make concerning that immense family from which the inhabitants of modern Europe sprang, their laws and government merit our most earnest attention and regard. We are not to suppose the fabric of their political institutions to be regular and uniform. While they remained in their forests, in the midst of briars and brambles, they were not united by any regular or social laws, each family knew no governor but its father or its elder: but whenever they were induced by hunger or inclination to form any military expedition, they then perceived the necessity of uniting their forces.

These scattered tribes assemble, and are conducted to the destined plunder by chiefs independent of each other. But frequent disorders in these excursions pointed out to them the necessity of having a commander in chief of the expedition; and he was elected and endowed with the supreme command, in their tumultuous assemblies. This chief, whom they decorated with the title of King, was very limited in his authority. The chief of each tribe decided in affairs of less importance, but the great concerns of their nation were determined in their general assemblies. As Tacitus concisely expresses it: *Deminoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes*. The primitive constitution of this people seems to have been a military democracy, in which each member voluntarily protected the state, and where every freeman had a part in the government. Spoils and booty
acquired

acquired in war were the joint property of all. The king was only the first citizen of the community, whose power depended upon his personal qualities. The succession to the crown was neither purely hereditary nor entirely elective. Whenever the son inherited the virtues and qualities of the father, he generally succeeded him. But when he was weak, wicked, or too young, the next relation, or the most valiant or renowned warrior was elevated to the regal dignity. The sword seemed to be the only right of this race, and they exercised it, as a right of nature, without remorse or without humanity. This military democracy continued with but small alterations, while their wars chiefly consisted of pillaging parties; but when they were settled in the Roman provinces their government became aristocratical: there, fearing the old inhabitants, as well as new depredators, they united with more political art, and sacrificed one part of their rights to preserve the other, and the public safety. Their general was then regarded as the chief of the colony, and the greater part of the conquered lands, were assigned to him as Lord paramount and chieftain.

Every subordinate officer and common soldier was presented with possessions proportionate to the measure of his rank or valour.

The chief or king whose portion was the most considerable, was enabled both to reward past services and procure new partizans for future wars. He divided these lands and gave them to his followers, upon a condition that they should aid and

protect him in all his wars, or forfeit their possessions. The nobles or principal officers followed his example, and appeared at the head of their vassals.

These were the means by which the *few* gained an ascendant over the *many*, and public liberty received a mortal wound. A dreadful anarchy was the consequence of this aristocracy, the people were slaves, and a thousand jealousies created a thousand wars among contending chiefs.

FEUDAL SYSTEM.

The *Feudal System*, many vestiges of which yet encumber the British code, (while it is happily erased from the Gallic one) was borrowed from a military establishment, and formerly affected the laws and the manners of almost every nation, from the shores of the Baltic to the mouth of the Danube, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Uxine sea.

Whenever an army of the northern barbarians proved victorious, they cantoned out the domains they had seized, made them subordinate to military command, and distributed them as rewards upon the veteran or the favourite, who were to hold themselves in readiness to assemble whenever occasion should require their united operations or counsels. But this system of policy rendered the bond of political union weak and defenceless; the sources of dissension were many; and corruption was interwoven with the very frame of the constitution.

The

The partial division of the conquered lands, which were generally bestowed upon the great officers, gave the *few* a dangerous ascendancy over the *many*. The king or general parcelled out his lands, binding those on whom he bestowed them, to attend him in all his military enterprizes, under the penalty of forfeiture. The nobles or great officers followed his example, annexing the same conditions to their grants of land, and appearing at the head of their numerous vassals, like so many independent princes, whenever their pride or their property was injured. They frequently disputed the claims of the sovereign: they withdrew their attendance, or turned their arms against him. Thus the nobles themselves, by means of their warlike retainers, were the tyrants of every inferior district, holding the people in servitude, and preventing any regular administration of justice, every one claiming prerogative within his own domains. The favourites of the crown or of a tyrant, frequently obtained a grant during life, and sometimes one including their heirs, of those lands which they had originally held only during pleasure; and they appropriated to themselves titles of honour, which became hereditary in many families. A whole kingdom consisted of innumerable baronies, and a thousand feuds and jealousies subsisted among them, and gave rise to as many wars. The face of Europe, wasted or kept in continual alarm by these internal hostilities, was filled with castles and places of strength, to protect the inhabitants against the fury of their fellow subjects.

THE HISTORY OF

The history of the city of London, from the first settlement of the Britons, to the present time. The first part of the history, from the first settlement of the Britons, to the reign of King Henry the Second, is contained in the first volume. The second part, from the reign of King Henry the Second, to the reign of King Richard the First, is contained in the second volume. The third part, from the reign of King Richard the First, to the reign of King John, is contained in the third volume. The fourth part, from the reign of King John, to the reign of King Henry the Third, is contained in the fourth volume. The fifth part, from the reign of King Henry the Third, to the reign of King Edward the First, is contained in the fifth volume. The sixth part, from the reign of King Edward the First, to the reign of King Edward the Second, is contained in the sixth volume. The seventh part, from the reign of King Edward the Second, to the reign of King Edward the Third, is contained in the seventh volume. The eighth part, from the reign of King Edward the Third, to the reign of King Richard the Second, is contained in the eighth volume. The ninth part, from the reign of King Richard the Second, to the reign of King Henry the Fourth, is contained in the ninth volume. The tenth part, from the reign of King Henry the Fourth, to the reign of King Henry the Fifth, is contained in the tenth volume. The eleventh part, from the reign of King Henry the Fifth, to the reign of King Henry the Sixth, is contained in the eleventh volume. The twelfth part, from the reign of King Henry the Sixth, to the reign of King Edward the Fourth, is contained in the twelfth volume. The thirteenth part, from the reign of King Edward the Fourth, to the reign of King Richard the Third, is contained in the thirteenth volume. The fourteenth part, from the reign of King Richard the Third, to the reign of King Henry the Seventh, is contained in the fourteenth volume. The fifteenth part, from the reign of King Henry the Seventh, to the reign of King Henry the Eighth, is contained in the fifteenth volume. The sixteenth part, from the reign of King Henry the Eighth, to the reign of King Edward the Sixth, is contained in the sixteenth volume. The seventeenth part, from the reign of King Edward the Sixth, to the reign of King Mary the First, is contained in the seventeenth volume. The eighteenth part, from the reign of King Mary the First, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth the First, is contained in the eighteenth volume. The nineteenth part, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth the First, to the reign of King James the First, is contained in the nineteenth volume. The twentieth part, from the reign of King James the First, to the reign of King Charles the First, is contained in the twentieth volume. The twenty-first part, from the reign of King Charles the First, to the reign of King Charles the Second, is contained in the twenty-first volume. The twenty-second part, from the reign of King Charles the Second, to the reign of King James the Second, is contained in the twenty-second volume. The twenty-third part, from the reign of King James the Second, to the reign of King William the Third, is contained in the twenty-third volume. The twenty-fourth part, from the reign of King William the Third, to the reign of King George the First, is contained in the twenty-fourth volume. The twenty-fifth part, from the reign of King George the First, to the reign of King George the Second, is contained in the twenty-fifth volume. The twenty-sixth part, from the reign of King George the Second, to the reign of King George the Third, is contained in the twenty-sixth volume. The twenty-seventh part, from the reign of King George the Third, to the reign of King George the Fourth, is contained in the twenty-seventh volume. The twenty-eighth part, from the reign of King George the Fourth, to the reign of King William the Fourth, is contained in the twenty-eighth volume. The twenty-ninth part, from the reign of King William the Fourth, to the reign of King George the Fifth, is contained in the twenty-ninth volume. The thirtieth part, from the reign of King George the Fifth, to the present time, is contained in the thirtieth volume.

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

CHAPTER I.

Didius Julianus purchases the Empire—The Reigns of Severus and his two Sons—Death of the Gordians, Maximus, and Balbinus—Account of the Emperors until the Death of Carus.

A. D. 180 **I**N the second century of the Christian æra, and the tenth from the foundation of the city, the Roman empire was established over the most desirable part of the known world. The valour by which Rome had acquired her fame and dominion, enabled her to defend them; and the equitable tenor of her laws, the cultivation of the arts and sciences, reconciled the provinces to her government.

During the first century of Christianity, the only accession to the Roman empire was the province of Britain, conquered by the arms of Agricola.

But

But Trajan, a hardy soldier and consummate general, despised the mild maxims of his predecessors, and vindicated the majesty of Rome by chastising the insolence of the Dacians, in person; and added a new province, of fifteen hundred miles in circumference, to the empire. The objects of our inquiry, are the circumstances which contributed to the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire subsequent to the Death of Marcus Antonius, in the hundred and eightieth year of the Christian æra. This is said to be the period when Rome was in the zenith of her glory, the aggregate amount of the inhabitants of her empire, including women and slaves, have been computed at one hundred and twenty millions, and when we are told that ancient Italy contained eleven hundred and ninety seven cities, we have reason to imagine it equally populous in the age of the Antonines.

The remains of the city of Verona still bear testimony to its former grandeur; yet Verona was considered as inferior to Aquileia, Padua, Milan, or Ravenna.

Britain had already begun to emerge from rude obscurity. York was the seat of government, and received the last breath of the emperor Severus, and Bath was celebrated for her salubrious waters. Twelve hundred cities overspread the face of Gaul; in Africa three hundred cities owned the authority of Carthage; and five hundred cities, adorned with every refinement of art, constituted only a part of the Roman dominions in Asia.

After

After Pertinax had been murdered by the Prætorian guards, they offered the empire to public sale. Sulpicianus promised one hundred and sixty pounds sterling to each soldier, but Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, arose and offered the sum of two hundred; the offer was accepted, the gates of the camp were thrown open to the purchaser, and he was declared emperor. [A. D. 192, March 28.]

The sordid purchaser was conducted through the streets of the astonished and indignant capital of the world; but after a short and anxious reign of sixty six days, he was beheaded by a sentence of the senate.

Severus mounted the throne and declared himself the avenger of the murderers of Pertinax.

This emperor, at the age of threescore years, afflicted with the painful sensations of the gout, was transported into Britain, to complete the conquest of this island. By reducing the Caledonians to a temporal subjection, and the severity of the climate, he lost above fifty thousand men; and inflamed by continual revolt, he issued his orders, not to subdue, but to exterminate the natives: but the emperor dying at York preserved the Caledonians from the consequences of his resentment. His two sons, Caracalla and Geta, reigned jointly for a short time, but the former obtained an undivided empire by fratricide.

The unfortunate Geta was induced to meet his brother on proposed terms of reconciliation, in the apartment of his mother; the distracted Julia beheld the assassination of her son by ruffi-
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ans who had been concealed by the contrivance of his brother Caracalla.* [A. D. 212.]

The fratricide succeeded to the throne; but in about five years after Caracalla himself was stabbed to the heart by a Scythian archer. After this event Macrinus, called Elagabalus, reigned about four years, and abandoned himself to the grossest pleasures with ungoverned fury. His murderers raised Alexander Severus,† at the age of seventeen, to the throne: his liberality endeared him to the army, and his virtues to the Senate. The charms of literature relieved the fatigues of public business, and the exercises of the body succeeded to those of the mind. His company consisted of a few select friends, and a familiar and instructive conversation supplied the place of licentious songs and wanton dances. But this amiable and unfortunate prince was murdered to make room for the elevation of the gigantic Maximin, who was massacred about two years afterwards, by a band of guards in his tent, after he had reigned three years. [A. D. 235.]

After Maximin had been declared an enemy

* Dion Cassius informs us that Caracalla massacred, without distinction of age or sex, all the friends of his brother Geta. He began the general massacre by ordering all his domestics, to the number of twenty thousand persons, to be inhumanly butchered.

† The most famous of all the writers, who flourished under Alexander Severus, was the celebrated historian Dion Cassius a native of Nicæa, in Bythinia. He dreamt that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of history. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of Commodus. He afterwards wrote the Roman History, in eighty books; but of that great work only a small part has reached us.

to

to Rome, Gordianus, the Pro-consul of Africa, accepted with reluctance the honours of the purple: on his father's side he was descended from the Gracchi; on his mother's, from the emperor Trajan. When he attained the age of fourscore years, he was compelled to assume the purple; his son, equally amiable in his character, though less pure in his manners, was associated with him in the empire.

But whilst the election of the Gordians was ratified and supported, the Gordians themselves were no more. Capelianus, governor of Mauritania, had invaded the defenceless province; the younger Gordian, at the head of an undisciplined multitude, marched out to meet him, and he fell honourably in battle.

The elder Gordian when he had reigned thirty six days, put an end to his life on the intelligence of his son's defeat and death.

Maximus and Ballinus were jointly elected to the empire; and the virtue of the two emperors justified the hopes of the Romans. [A. D. 237, July 9.]

The former had gained the reputation of a great general by his victories over the Sarmatians and Germans; the latter was esteemed as an orator and a poet.

While Maximus was in Italy, Balbinus had been engaged in scenes of blood and discord at Rome: he endeavoured in vain to reconcile the contending factions, and the jealousy which soon prevailed between the two emperors, was ill calculated to crush this growing discontent.

Maximus

Maximus despised Balbinus, as an indolent noble; and Balbinus disdained his colleague, as an ignorant soldier.

The whole city was employed in the capitaline games, and the emperors were left alone in their palace; on a sudden they were alarmed by the approach of a body of Prætorian guards, and after being stripped of their imperial ornaments, the bodies of the emperors mangled with a thousand wounds, were exposed to the insults or pity of the people. [A. D. 238, July 15.]

In the space of a few successive months, six princes had perished by the sword,

Gordian, a youth of nineteen years of age was called by the soldiers to the toils of sovereignty.

The learning of Mifitheus recommended him to the favour of the young emperor, who soon after married the daughter of his favourite servant. [A. D. 242.]

In this reign the Persians had invaded Mesopotamia, and the emperor, at the persuasion of his father-in-law, opened, for the last time recorded in history, the Temple of Janus, and marched in person to repel the enemy.

Gordian's appointment of Philip, by birth an Arab, and by profession a robber, to the præfecture, proved fatal to his life and power.

The boldness of the new præfect aspired to the throne; and by a sentence of the soldiers, the emperor was stript and led away to death, and a small monument on the banks of the river Aboras, shewed the spot of his execution, after a reign of scarce six years.

Philip

Philip, raised to the empire by the votes of the army, solemnized with pomp the secular games. These, since their revival by Augustus, had been celebrated by Claudius Domitian, and by Severus.

The vigor of the Persian monarchy, restored by Artaxerxes, and the hardy barbarians who inhabited the woods and forests of Germany were at this period the most formidable enemies of the Roman empire. [A. D. 249.]

When the emperor Philip communicated the intelligence to the Roman senate that his rebellious legions of Mæsia had chosen a subaltern officer named Marinus for their emperor, Decius, one of the assembly, treated the whole business with contempt, and called Philip's rival a phantom of royalty, who in a few days would be destroyed by the same inconstancy that had created him. The speedy completion of this prophecy inspired Philip with so high an opinion of the merit of Decius, that he sent him to restore peace and discipline to that tumultuous army. When Decius arrived at the Mælian camp, the legions left him only the alternative of death or the empire, which rendered his subsequent conduct unavoidable. Decius conducted his army to the confines of Italy, whither Philip advanced with all his forces to repel the competitor, whom he had raised to power. They met and fought, and Philip was either killed in battle, or put to death a few days afterwards at Verona. His son was massacred at Rome by the Prætorian guards; and Decius was acknowledged emperor by the senate and provinces.

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Philip, raised to the empire by the votes of the army, solemnized with pomp the secular games. These, since their revival by Augustus, had been celebrated by Claudius Domitian, and by Severus.

The vigor of the Persian monarchy, restored by Artaxerxes, and the hardy barbarians who inhabited the woods and forests of Germany were at this period the most formidable enemies of the Roman empire. [A. D. 249.]

When the emperor Philip communicated the intelligence to the Roman senate that his rebellious legions of Mæsia had chosen a subaltern officer named Marinus for their emperor, Decius, one of the assembly, treated the whole business with contempt, and called Philip's rival a phantom of royalty, who in a few days would be destroyed by the same inconstancy that had created him. The speedy completion of this prophecy inspired Philip with so high an opinion of the merit of Decius, that he sent him to restore peace and discipline to that tumultuous army. When Decius arrived at the Mælian camp, the legions left him only the alternative of death or the empire, which rendered his subsequent conduct unavoidable. Decius conducted his army to the confines of Italy, whither Philip advanced with all his forces to repel the competitor, whom he had raised to power. They met and fought, and Philip was either killed in battle, or put to death a few days afterwards at Verona. His son was massacred at Rome by the Prætorian guards; and Decius was acknowledged emperor by the senate and provinces.

Having mentioned the ancient Germans, we shall now have occasion to speak of the *Goths*, who first emigrated from Scandinavia, crossed the Baltic into Pomerania and Prussia; and as late as the age of the Antonines they were established towards the mouth of the Vistula. About the reign of Alexander Severus the province of Dacia, and places about the Euxine sea were infested by the *Goths*. [A. D. 250]

Cniva king of the *Goths* passed the Danube a second time, and arrived before the city of Nicopolis, situated on a stream which runs into that great river, with an army of seventy thousand men. On the approach of Decius this army marched to the siege of Philipoppolis, a city of Thrace, founded by the father of Alexander. Decius followed them, and when he imagined himself at a considerable distance from the *Goths*, Cniva turned with rapid fury on his pursuers. The camp of the Romans was surprised and pillaged, and, for the first time, their emperor fled in disorder before a troop of half armed barbarians.

The city was taken by storm. Ammian says that a hundred thousand persons were massacred in the sack of that great city. After the siege Decius exerted his utmost vigilance to oppose either the progress or the retreat of the *Goths*.

These barbarians were surrounded and pursued on every side by the Roman arms, after the siege of Philipoppolis, and the exhausted country would no longer afford subsistence for the remaining multitude of licentious barbarians. Reduced

duced to this extremity, they would gladly have purchased, by the surrender of all their booty and prisoners, the permission of an undisturbed retreat. But the emperor, resolving to chastise the rapacity of these invaders, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. The high spirited barbarians preferred death to slavery. An obscure town of Mæsia, called Forum Terebonii, was the scene of the battle. The Gothic army was drawn up in three lines, and the front of the third line was covered by a morass.

In the beginning of the action, the son of Decius, a youth of the fairest hopes, was slain by an arrow, in the sight of his afflicted father; who summoning all his fortitude, admonished the dismayed troops, that the loss of a single soldier was of little importance to the republic.

The conflict was terrible; it was the combat of despair against grief and rage. The first line of the Goths gave way, the second, advancing to sustain it, shared the same fate; the third remained entire, prepared to dispute the passage of the morass, which was imprudently attempted by the enemy.

Every thing became adverse to the Romans: the depth of ooze and water prevented them from wielding their heavy javelins. The barbarians, on the contrary, were inured to encounters in the bogs, their persons tall, their spears long, such as could wound at a distance. In this morass the Roman army was irrecoverably lost; nor could the body of the emperor ever be found. Such was the fate of the emperor Decius and his son. [A. D. 251.]

Hostilianus, the only surviving son of Decius, was chosen emperor, and Gallus was guardian to the young prince.

Gallus appeased the rage of the Goths, and purchased peace, by paying them annually a large sum of gold, on condition they should never afterwards infest the Roman territories.

Though Hostilianus died in the midst of a raging pestilence, a suspicion arose that Gallus had murdered him. [A. D. 253, May.]

Æmilianus, governor of Panormia, was raised to the imperial chair, and Gallus and his son Volusianus were murdered.

Valerian was chosen emperor by the unanimous voice of the Roman world; his noble birth, his learning, prudence and experience were revered by the senate and people.

Gallienus his son was appointed his associate and successor, and their reigns completed a period of fifteen years of uninterrupted confusion and calamity.

The Franks, the Alemanni, the Goths, and the Persians, all made inroads in the dominions of the Romans. A numerous body of the ancient Germans penetrated across the Danube, and through the Rætian Alps, into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far as Ravenna, and displayed the victorious banners of barbarians almost in the sight of Rome.

In this emergency the senators drew out the Prætorian guards. The Alemanni astonished with the appearance of an army more numerous than themselves, retired into Germany, laden with

with spoil, and their retreat was esteemed as a victory by the Romans.

In this reign the Goths make three naval expeditions; in the third they pass the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and at length the Gothic fleet landed at the port of Piræus, five miles distant from Athens. These barbarians soon became masters of this famous city, once the seat of the muses and the arts. A general conflagration blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece. Thebes and Argos, Corinth and Sparta, which had formerly waged such memorable wars against each other, were now unable to bring an army into the field. The rage of war spread from the eastern point of Sunium to the western coast of Epirus. When the Goths had advanced within sight of Italy, the indolent Gallienus, awakened from his dream of pleasure, fled to arms and capitulated with Naulobatus a chief of the Heruli, who with his army entered into the service of Rome, and was himself honoured with the consular dignity. The small remainder of this destroying host measuring back their way through the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, ravaged in their passage the shores of Troy. The temple of Diana at Ephesus, a magnificent structure, supported by one hundred and twenty seven marble columns, was burnt in this Gothic expedition.

A. D. Valerian marches into the east to
260. stop the progress and incursions of Sapor
king Persia, by whom he is defeated and
taken prisoner. Sapor overruns Syria, Silesia,
C and

and Cappadocia. The captive Valerian was exposed to the multitude, a constant spectacle of fallen greatness, and whenever the Persian monarch mounted on horseback, he placed his foot on the neck of a Roman emperor. When this imperial captive sunk under the weight of shame and grief, his skin, stuffed with straw, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated temple of Persia.*

Thirty usurpers, called the thirty tyrants, started up in the several provinces against the son of Valerian; their real number is said to have been but nineteen. Most of these had been worthy lieutenants of the father, but disdained to serve the luxurious indolence of the son.

The deaths of all these tyrants, like their elevation, was violent, unnatural and sudden.

A. D. Gallienus, at the siege of Milan,
268. had left his tent in the night to go to a place where his domestic enemies pretended Aureolus had made a sally, and received a mortal dart from an uncertain hand; before he expired he desired, that the imperial ornaments should be delivered to Claudius. The troops ratified the election, and acknowledged the merit of their new sovereign.

The siege of Milan, at which Gallienus lost his life by the conspiracy of his general Martian, was still continued, and Aureolus attempted to enter into a treaty of alliance with Claudius, but met with a stern refusal; at length the former was

* Agathias writes, that Valerian was flayed alive; but is therein contradicted by all the ancient historians.

compelled

compelled to yield up the city and himself to the discretion of the emperor.

However mean the birth of Claudius might be, he possessed those qualities and virtues which by God and liberal men, will ever be preferred to the ideal baubles of a noble birth, a long line of proud unmeaning titles. He was valiant, just, and brave. He added clemency to his valour, and liberality to his justice.

A. D. 269. At this time the various nations of Germany and Sarmatia, who fought under the Gothic standard, had collected an armament more formidable than any which had yet issued from the Euxine. On the banks of the Neister they constructed a fleet of two thousand, or as others have it of six thousand vessels, to transport their army, consisting of three hundred and twenty thousand men. In their passage through the Bosphorus many of their vessels were dashed against each other, or against the shore; they made various descents on the coasts both of Europe and Asia; but were repulsed with shame and loss from the fortified cities. Some sailed towards the islands of Crete and Cyprus, but the main body anchored near the foot of mount Athos, and assaulted the city of Thessalonica. Their attacks were soon interrupted by the rapid approach of Claudius.

Impatient for battle, the Goths broke up their camp, relinquished the siege of Thessalonica, left their navy at the foot of mount Athos, traversed the hills of Macedonia, and pressed forward to meet Claudius. The decisive battle

was fought near Naissus, a city of Dardania, in which battle the Goths were defeated.

Fifty thousand men are said to have been slain in this battle. The emperor gave the following account of this victory, in a letter to Junius Brocchus, governor of Illyricum.

“ We have utterly defeated an army of three
 “ hundred and twenty thousand Goths. The
 “ fields and shores are covered with swords,
 “ shields, and dead bodies. We have taken such
 “ numbers of captives, that, not to mention the
 “ men, two or three women will fall to the
 “ share of each soldier in our victorious army.”

A. D. The pestilence which swept away
 270. such numbers of the barbarians, at length proved fatal to their conqueror.

After a short but glorious reign of two years, Claudius expired at Sirmium, amidst the tears and acclamations of his subjects. In his last illness he recommended Aurelian for his successor.

The promotion of Aurelian was not without opposition on the part of the senate, as Quintillus, the brother of the deceased emperor, put in his claim, and was for a while acknowledged at Rome; but finding himself abandoned by those who first instigated him to declare for the throne, he chose to prevent the severity of his rival, by a voluntary death; and causing his veins to be opened, expired, after having reigned but seventeen days.

A. D. The whole of Aurelian's reign,
 272. which lasted about four years and nine months, was spent in repressing the irruptions of the northern nations. He put an end

to the Gothic war, chastised the Germans who invaded Italy, recovered Gaul, Spain, and Britain out of the hands of Tetricus, and destroyed the proud monarchy which Zenobia had erected in the East, on the ruins of part of the Roman empire.

To oppose this extraordinary woman, Aurelian passed his army into Asia, and surmounting all the obstacles that were opposed against him, he at length sat down before Tyana, a city of Cappadocia, which, after a long siege, he entered by the help of a perfidious citizen; but he treated with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher.

From Tyana he marched to meet the enemy near the city of Emesa in Syria. They met and fought, the battle was long and obstinate, but at length the perseverance of Aurelian's generals overcame and defeated the army of the renowned queen Zenobia, and obliged her to fly to Palmyra for safety.

Hither the conqueror pursued her and endeavoured to induce her to submission; but the haughty queen, relying on succours which she expected from the Persians, the Saracens, and the Africans, refused with scorn the terms which he offered of life and security. She attempted to fly into Persia, but was taken by a chosen body of horse sent to pursue her. The city of Palmyra likewise submitted to the conqueror; and Longinus* the celebrated critic, and

* This was the Longinus who wrote the celebrated treatise on *the Sublime*. He taught the philosophy of Plato: Porphyrius tells us, that he and some other philosophers were feasted

secretary to the queen, was, by Aurelian's order, put to death. Zenobia was reserved to grace his triumph at Rome; and lands were afterwards allotted near that city where she lived in elegant splendor.

The emperor entered into an advantageous treaty with the Goths, they engaged to supply the Roman armies with a body of two thousand auxiliaries, and stipulated in return an undisturbed retreat, and a regular market as far as the Danube; the treaty was observed with religious fidelity.

Aurelian withdrew his forces from the province of Dacia, and tacitly relinquished that great province to the Goths and Vandals.

A. D. 275. Aurelian in order to subdue the pride of the Persian monarch, had marched as far as the straits which divide Europe from Asia. He had threatened one of his secretaries who was accused of extortion; and it was known he seldom threatened in vain. The last hope which remained for the criminal, was to involve some of the principal officers of the army in his danger. Artfully counterfeiting his master's hand, he shewed them in a long and bloody list, their own names devoted to death. Without suspecting the fraud, they resolved upon the death of the emperor.

On his march between Byzantium and Heraclea, Aurelian was suddenly attacked by the

at Athens by Longinus on Plato's birth-day. He provoked Aurelian by dictating a letter which Zenobia sent to that emperor.

conspirators,

conspirators, and fell by the hand of Mucapor, a general whom he had always loved and trusted.

A. D. Tacitus, a man of great merit and no way solicitous of the honours that were
275. offered him, was chosen by the senate, after several importunities, to accept the government of the empire, which he complied with, being at that time seventy five years old.

Tacitus punished the conspirators of the preceding reign, particularly Menestheus, whom he ordered to be impaled alive, and his body to be thrown to wild beasts. This emperor was fond of learning, and the memory of such as had deserved well of their country; the works of his namesake Tacitus, the historian, were particularly honoured by him. He commanded them to be placed in every public library.

But the glory and life of Tacitus were of short duration. The fatigues of a journey, in the depth of winter, to the foot of mount Caucasus, seconded by the factions among his troops, brought on his death, after a reign of only six months and about twenty days.

When Probus ascended the imperial throne, he was about forty-four years of age, in full possession of his fame, of the love of the army, and of a mature vigour of mind and body. He hastened with an army to repress the Germans in Gaul, of whom he slew four hundred thousand. In Thrace he compelled the Goths to sue for peace; he conquered the Blemii; who, leaving their native forests of Æthiopia, had possessed

themselves of Arabia and Judea. He constructed a stone wall from the neighbourhood of Newstadt and Ratibon, on the Danube, across hills, vallies, and rivers, as far as Wimpfen on the Necker, and from thence to the banks of the Rhine, after a winding course of near two hundred miles. His diligence was equally conspicuous in suppressing intestine commotions. Proculus, a person remarkable for his attachment to women, and particularly for his having deflowered a hundred virgin prisoners, in a few days, set up against the emperor, but was compelled to fly, and at length delivered up by the Germans. Probus also subdued the rebel Bonofus, a remarkable votary to Bæchus, who, when he was overcome hanged himself in despair. The emperor pointed at his body and exclaimed,

“There hangs, not a man, but a bottle.”

A. D. The Goths and Vandals finding the
282. emperor engaged in domestic broils, renewed their accustomed inroads, and felt the punishment of their presumption, by receiving a smart repulse from the intrepid Probus. As this active emperor was leading his soldiers against the Persians, and while he was endeavouring to restrain their licentious manners, he was slain by those very troops whose manners he endeavoured to reform. But when sudden anger had yielded to sober reflection, they acknowledged their own ingratitude and the probity of their leader, by erecting a magnificent monument to his memory, with an epitaph which calls him,

“The

“ The subduer of barbarians, and the conquerer
“ of usurpers.”

These four last mentioned emperors, Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, and Probus, who happily succeeded each other, revived the Roman empire from that depressed state in which it was left at the death of Gallienus.

Carus reigned about two years with his two sons Carinus and Numerian; he overthrew the Persians, and took the noble cities Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and was slain by an engine of war in his camp upon the bank of the Tigris.

We shall now proceed to the next second division of our subject, the reign of Diocletian &c.

CHAPTER II.

The reign of Diocletian and his three Associates, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius.—Reign of Constantine the Great and his Sons.—The reign of Julian.—

A. D. 284. **U**PON the death of Numerian, Diocletian, commander of the body guards, was chosen emperor by the generals and tribunes. Carinus fell by the sword of a tribune whose wife he had seduced, he bestowed the purple on Diocletian in the moment he despaired of life.

The abilities of the new emperor were rather useful than splendid, and above all he was master of the great art of submitting his own passions, as well as those of others, to the advancement of his interest. He chose Maximian for his colleague. The prudence of Diocletian* discovered that the empire, assailed on every side, required on every side the presence of an emperor; he invested Galerius and Constantius with the

* From this time forward, the empire continued almost constantly divided; and every succeeding emperor, when he enacted laws prefixed the names of his colleagues. Lactantius is so far from calling this multiplicity of princes a prudent innovation, that he ascribes this division to the cowardice of Diocletian.

second honours of the empire. The defence of Gaul, Spain and Britain, was entrusted to Constantius; the banks of the Danube to Galerius; Italy and Africa to Maximian, and Thrace, Egypt, and Asia, were reserved to Diocletian. Each was sovereign within his own jurisdiction, and their united authority extended over the whole monarchy.

In this reign, Carausius, who had been stationed in the British channel for the correction of piratical invasions, sailed over into Britain, corrupted the legion which guarded the island, and boldly assumed the imperial title of Augustus. For seven years he supported his rebellion with courage and ability; his fleets rode triumphant in the channel, ravaged the coasts of the ocean, and Britain, under his command, first assumed its natural and respectable station of a maritime power.

This event immediately followed the chastisement of the peasants in Gaul; and* Carausius, by carrying off the fleet at Boulogne, had deprived Maximian of the means of revenge; a new armament was prepared with difficulty, and defeated by the usurper. Diocletian and Maximian, discouraged by this event, resigned to Carausius the sovereignty of Britain. But at length Constan-

* Eutropius Lib. 9. speaks thus of Carausius. — Multis Barbaris sæpe captis, nec prædâ integrâ aut provincialibus redditâ, aut imperatoribus missâ cum suspicio esse cœpisset consultò ab eo admitti Barbaros, ut transeuntes cum prædâ exciperet, atque hâc se occasione ditaret, à Maximiano jussus occidi, purpuram sumpsit, & Britannias occupavit.

tius assumed the conduct of the British war. Allectus, the first minister of the usurper, after he had murdered his master, succeeded to his power: and, posted near London, hastened to repel the approaching forces of Asclepiodatus, sent by Constantius with a squadron against the usurper. After a long and disorderly march, Allectus encountered the præfect, and the engagement was terminated by the death and defeat of that usurper; the rest of the island submitted; and Constantius, when he landed on the shores of Kent, found them covered with obedient subjects.

In the twentieth year of the reign of Diocletian was celebrated the last triumph Rome ever beheld; and Maximian was the only partner of the emperor in the glory of the day; Africa and Britain, the Rhine, the Danube and the Nile, furnished their respective trophies.

The most fatal wound to the senate commenced in this reign, and was caused by the absence of the emperors; these, at a distance from the capital, laid aside the moderation recommended by Augustus; and exercised in the most unqualified manner, the whole of the legislative as well as executive power.

The princes of Rome, when they had lost sight of the senate and capital, forgot also the origin of their authority; they disdained the civil offices of consul, of pro-consul, of censor, and of tribune; and the appellation of emperor or imperator, no longer denoted the general of the armies, but the sovereign of the Roman world.

Dominus

Dominus, or Lord, as an epithet, had been rejected by the first Cæsars, as implying too despotic a power; but the stile of our *Lord and Emperor* was at length universally adopted by flattery, and regularly admitted into the laws and public memorials.

A. D. Diocletian left Italy soon after the ceremony of his triumph, and after a
304. fatiguing journey arrived at Nicomedia. He resolved to pass the remainder of his days in honourable repose; and the ceremony of his abdication was performed in a spacious plain near that city. He passed the last nine years of his life at Salona, a city of Dalmatia; and it has been insinuated, that he withdrew himself from the ingratitude of his enemies by a voluntary death. The abdication of Diocletian and Maximian was succeeded by eighteen years of discord and confusion. The empire was afflicted by five civil wars; Constantius and Galerius assumed the title of Augustus; and Severus and Galla were promoted by Galerius to the rank of Cæsar. In less than eighteen months, the ambitious schemes of Galerius were overturned by two unexpected revolutions. Constantine, the son of Constantius by Helena, the daughter of an inn-keeper, possessed himself of the western provinces, and the revolt of Maxentius was attended with the loss of Africa and Italy. This Constantine, distinguished by the appellation of Great, was about eighteen years of age when his father was advanced to the rank of Cæsar; but that fortunate event was attended with his mother's

ther's divorce, and the son of Helena, instead of following his father, remained in the service of Diocletian; at length by the earnest intreaty of his father, who, by repeated letters, expressed the warmest desire of embracing his son, Constantine left the palace of Nicomedia, and after traversing the whole length of Europe, reached the port of Boulogne, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, in the moment his father was preparing to embark for Britain.

A. D. Constantius, after obtaining an easy
306. victory over the barbarians of Caledonia, ended his life at York, fifteen months from his obtaining the title of Augustus, and fourteen years and half from his being called to the rank of Cæsar. The flower of the western armies had followed Constantine into Britain, and the legions impatiently hastened to salute his son with the names of Augustus and Emperor. Galerius acknowledged the son of his late colleague, as sovereign of the provinces beyond the Alps, but bestowed on him only the title of Cæsar, and conferred that of Augustus on Severus.

Galerius died of a loathsome disease at Nicomedia, nineteen years from his being raised to the rank of Cæsar. Maximian was massacred at Marseilles. After their death, the provinces of Asia fell to the share of Maximin, and those of Europe were allotted to Licinius. Discords soon broke out between Constantine and Licinius, and the first battle was fought near Cibalis, a city of Pannonia; the contest lasted from the
dawn

dawn of day to a late hour in the evening, and the troops of Licinius were saved by a judicious retreat.

The plain of Mardia in Thrace was the theatre of a second combat, equally bloody and equally flattering to the abilities of Constantine.

The age of the great Constantine and his sons is filled with important events; the unfortunate Licinius was the last rival who opposed the greatness, and the last captive who adorned the triumph of this emperor.

A. D. After the defeat and abdication of
324. Licinius, Constantine proceeded to build a new capital, which has to this day retained the name of its founder. Willing to mix some superstition and fable with the origin of the city, the emperor pretended that he was not so much influenced by human policy as by the infallible and eternal decrees of divine wisdom; and says in one of his laws, that, in obedience to the commands of God, he laid the everlasting foundation of Constantinople. *Pro commoditate urbis quam æterno nomine, jubente deo, donavimus.* Though he himself never condescended to relate in what manner the divine inspiration was communicated to his mind, succeeding writers have very copiously described the nocturnal vision which appeared to the fancy of Constantine, as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. They tell us that the tutelar genius of the city, a venerable old matron, was suddenly transformed into a blooming maid, whom his own hands adorned with all the symbols of imperial

imperial greatness. The monarch awoke and obeyed the will of heaven.

In less than a century, Constantinople disputed with Rome itself the pre-eminence of riches and numbers. New piles of buildings were crowded together with too little regard to health or convenience, and the suburbs, which were built upon moles pushed into the sea, (composed of the famous Puzzolan sand which hardens in the water) might alone have composed a very considerable city.

The simplicity of the Roman manners was insensibly corrupted by the stately affectation of the courts of Asia. The distinctions of personal influence and merit were abolished by the despotism of the emperors; they substituted in their room a severe subordination of rank and office.

The purity of the Latin language was debased by adopting of epithets, which Tully would scarcely have understood, and which Augustus would have rejected with indignation. The principal officers of the empire were saluted even by the emperors themselves with the deceitful titles of your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Eminence*, your *Sublime* and *Wonderful Magnitude*.

The breach of this ceremonial nonsense was severely punished. The emperor Gratian confirming a law of precedency published by his predecessor, says "Siquis igitur indebitum sibi locum usurpaverit, nulla se ignoratione defendat; sitque plane *sacrilegi* reus, qui *divina* præcepta neglexerit." Ignorance shall not be allowed as an excuse to any one who shall presume to take
a place

a place contrary to his rank; and whoever shall neglect the observance of our *divine* commands, shall be deemed guilty of sacrilege!

All the provincial generals were called Dukes, and Constantine invented the name of *Count* or companion, as a title of honour or favour, which he bestowed upon ten generals only.

By the grateful zeal of the Christians, Constantine has been represented as a hero and even as a saint; while the discontent of the Pagans has reprobated his conduct, and compared him to those tyrants who dishonoured the imperial purple. In his civil wars against Maxentius and Licinius, he engaged on his side the inclinations of the people, who preferred his *seeming* virtues to the *undissembled* vices of those tyrants. The beginning of his reign has been recorded as worthy to be classed among that of the best of princes; but the last years of his life have been disgraced by the epithets of prodigal and rapacious; he lavishly consumed the treasures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius; and he oppressed the people with the expence of his numerous buildings. False hair of various colours laboriously arranged, and a profusion of gems and pearls decorated the head of the first Christian emperor. Minervina, his first wife, left him an only son named Crispus, whom he ordered to be arrested at Rome, while his family and subjects were celebrating the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine. Licinius, an amiable youth, nephew to the emperor, was involved in the ruin of Crispus. Eusebius, the bishop who has celebrated

ed the virtues and piety of Constantine, is silent on the subject of these actions of his faintish hero. Some have ascribed the misfortunes of Crispus to the arts of his step-mother, Fausta, and renewed in the palace of Constantine the ancient tragedy of Hyppolitus and Phædra.

A. D. 326. The crime charged upon Crispus was conspiracy. The examination was short and private, and as the emperor thought it would be decent to conceal the fate of the young prince from the eyes of the Roman people, he was sent under a strong guard to Pola, in Istria, and was there put to death either by the executioner or by poison.*

A. D. 332. The eldest of the surviving sons of Constantine gained a decisive battle over the Goths near the river Danube. About two years after this the inroads of the Sarmatians provoked the indignation of the emperor, who refused his assistance against Geberic, who had recently ascended the Gothic throne; and the flower of the Sarmatian youth were swept away in a battle, in which Wisumer, the Vandal king, was vanquished and slain. A portion of land in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy, were assigned for the habitation and subsistence of three hundred thou-

* Evagrius, to excuse Constantine, has denied these facts; but they are too well attested, both by the Greek and Latin historians, to be called in question. Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history, which he published during the life of Constantine, has criminally drawn the veil of silence over these enormities of his benefactor.

sand Sarmatians, who had chosen exile rather than submit to the government of their own slaves, who had usurped the possession of their country, under the denomination of Limigantes.

A. D. 337. After the ambassadors of Æthiopia, Persia, and the most remote countries of India, had congratulated Constantine upon the peace and prosperity of his government; he ended his memorable life at the palace of Aquyrion, in the suburbs of Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The dead body of the emperor was placed upon a golden bed with all imaginary pomp, to which the officers of his household paid all manner of obsequious respect, by kneeling to it formally every day at stated hours, with as composed countenances and as seriously as if he had been alive.

Constantius succeeded his father, and by the perfidious counsels of his ministers, his uncles and cousins were put to death. The bishop of Nicomedia presented a scroll to Constantius, pretending it to be the last testament of his father, expressing his suspicions that he had been poisoned by his brothers, and conjuring his sons to revenge his death.

A. D. 337. After the massacre of the Flavian race, the new capital, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, was given to Constantine the eldest son. Thrace and the countries of the east, were allotted for the patrimony of Constantius: and Constans, the other brother, was acknowledged as the lawful sovereign.

reign of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum.

When these three sons assumed the reins of government, the eldest was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen years of age.

Constantius engaged in a Persian war and was often defeated, but at the battle of Singara near the Tigris, he is said to have come off conqueror, though with a very considerable loss. The son of Sapor was cruelly scourged and executed publicly in the Roman camp.

After the partition of the empire, three years had scarcely elapsed, before the sons of Constantine fell into a civil war. Constantine, his eldest son, in a civil broil, was betrayed into a wood, and was surrounded and slain. The fate of Constans was delayed about ten years longer, when he was murdered by order of Magnentius, in a temple near Helena, at the foot of the Pyrenees, after the army at Autun had invested Magnentius with the diadem and purple. Constantia, sister to Constans, placed with her own hands the diadem on the head of the Illyrian general and seemed to expect the accomplishment of those unbounded hopes, of which she had been disappointed by the death of her husband Hannibalianus.

These events recalled the arms of Constantius from the inglorious prosecution of the Persian war, and he hastened to meet Vetricio in the plains of Sardica, where the emperor and the usurper held a solemn parley in the sight of both
armies;

armies; Constantius, animated by a desire of revenge and the justness of his cause, harangued with so much conviction, that the plain of Sardica resounded with the universal acclamation of "Away with the upstart usurpers! Long life and victory to the son of Constantine." Vetrano fell prostrate at the feet of the emperor, and taking the diadem from his head, he delivered it to Constantius.

His contention with Magnentius was of a more serious and bloody kind. Both armies met at Murfa on the Drave, in Hungary; and Constantius, after animating his soldiers by an eloquent speech, retired into a church at some distance, and committed this decisive day to the conduct of his generals; the battle was warmly contested, and whole troops of barbarians were urged by anguish and despair to precipitate themselves into the broad and rapid stream of the Drave; the number of the slain was computed at fifty-four thousand men: but the victory was in favour of Constantius.

A. D. After the defeat at Murfa Magnen-
 353. tius made several efforts, and at last
 took his station near Lyons, where,
 when he found that his soldiers were determined to deliver him up to merit a pardon for themselves, he fell upon his sword and prevented their design.

The divided provinces were again united by these conquests of Constantius, at this period he suffered the eunuchs to govern his councils and sway the Roman world, till Gallus, the nephew
 of

of Constantine the Great, was presented with the title of Cæsar, in the twenty fifth year of his age. Constantius continued his march towards the west, and Gallus fixed his residence at Antioch. Constantius frequently sent letters to his colleague in the east, to admonish him of his duty; but Gallus fell into disgrace, and took a reluctant journey to the imperial residence at Milan; he traversed his wide dominions from Antioch to Hadrianople with a numerous and stately train, after a few days he went from thence to Milan, where he underwent a long examination relative to his government of the east; he laid all his crimes to his deceased wife Constantia, which exasperated Constantius; sentence of death was signed and executed upon the nephew of Constantine; he was beheaded in prison like the vilest malefactor. A little after this event Julian, after the celebrating of the nuptials with Helena, sister of Constantius, was saluted with the title of Cæsar, and appointed to reign over the countries beyond the Alps.

The retired scholastic education of Julian, left him in profound ignorance of the practical arts of war and government. Immediately after he had received the purple at Milan, he was sent into Gaul and passed the winter at Vienna; he was besieged at Sens in the center of Gaul, reduced in this extremity to the resources of his own mind, he displayed a prudent intrepidity which compensated for all the deficiencies of the place and garrison: and the Barbarians, at the end of thirty days, were obliged to retire with disappointed

disappointed rage. Julian not only delivered the provinces of Gaul from the Barbarians of Germany, but also aspired to emulate the first and most illustrious of the emperors by writing his own commentaries of the Gallic war. A tender regard for the ease and happiness of his subjects was the ruling passion of Julian. This young hero, who supported in Gaul the throne of Constantius, suspended for a short time the inroads of the Barbarians. He made the city of Paris the seat of his winter residence, and adorned it with baths, an aqueduct, and a field of Mars for the exercise of the Roman troops, which is now become immortal by the late *confederation*.

Here we may justly observe to the young student, that almost immediately after Constantine the Great had added territorial possessions to the priests of the christian church, they began to pervert their humble religion to the most diabolical purposes; and dreadful divisions took place in the church.—The schism of the Donatists—The Arian Controversy, and the dispute with Athanasius.

Constantius openly defended the Arians, and as soon as he was relieved from the terrors of the civil war, he devoted the leisure of his winter quarters at Arles, Milan, and Constantinople, to the amusements of controversy; the sword of the magistrate, and even of the tyrant was unsheathed, to enforce the reasons of the Theologian.

When sentence of banishment was pronounced against Liberius, the Roman pontiff; and he

was

was conveyed into Thrace, the wives of many of the senators and most honourable citizens went in rich dresses to the emperor Constantius, with a petition in favour of their favourite pastor; he admired their inflexible resolution of following their spiritual guide to the most distant regions; and consented that the two rival bishops, Liberius and Fælix, should govern in peace their respective congregations. But the ideas of toleration were so repugnant to the practice and even to the sentiments of those times, that when the answer of Constantius was publicly read in the Circus of Rome, so reasonable a project of accomodation was rejected with contempt and ridicule. And the Roman Circus, which was at one hour engaged in viewing a horse-race, was now before the next turned towards a different object, and resounded with the shouts of thousands, who repeatedly exclaimed "One God, one Christ, one Bishop." Constantius restored the exiled prelate to the undivided dominion of the capital. Fælix was expelled from the city, and his adherents were inhumanly murdered in the street, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome, upon the return of a Christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius, and the proscriptions of Sylla.

Constantius was detained in Italy above eighteen months after Julian entered upon his Gallic reign. The emperor went to Rome at the head of a triumphal procession, was lodged in the

the palace of Augustus, presided in the senate, and harangued the people: but after a short visit of thirty days, his departure was hastened by the intelligence of the distress and danger of the Illyrian provinces. To perpetuate his visit to Rome, he commanded the largest of the Egyptian obelisks, which had been designed by Constantine to adorn his new city, to be transported from the banks of the Nile, and elevated in the great circus of Rome.

After Julian had repulsed the Alemanni, he turned his arms against the Franks. In the month of December, which followed the battle of Strasburgh, he attacked a body of six hundred, who had thrown themselves into two castles on the Meuse. In the midst of this severe season, they sustained a siege of fifty-four days, till exhausted by hunger, and hopeless of escape, the Franks, for the first time, consented to dispense with the ancient law, which commanded them to conquer or die. Julian sent his captives to the court of Constantius, who accepted them as a valuable present, and added them to the choicest troops of his domestic guards.

A. D. Julian not only delivered the provinces of Gaul from the barbarians of
359. Germany; but in three successful expeditions, he carried the Roman eagles beyond the Rhine. Without repeating the uniform tale of slaughter and devastation, it is sufficient to observe, that when he last passed that river, he was followed by twenty thousand captives, whom he had rescued from the chains of the barbarians.

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While the Romans languished under the tyranny of eunuchs and bishops, the praise of Julian was repeated in every part of the empire. But Constantius dreaded the virtues he ought to have imitated; and he listened with attention to those sycophants who depreciated the merit of Julian, a prince indifferent to pleasure, and averse to luxur. While he was employed in his winter quarters at Paris, he received a mandate from Constantius to leave Gaul with his legions, and hasten into Asia to repel the Persians. The troops, unwilling to quit their native soil, expressed their displeasure both at the emperor and the order. They had been indulged with wine; the opportunity was favourable; and conspiracy, the only expedient which could avert separation, was proposed and approved. At the hour of midnight the impatient multitude rushed into the suburbs, encompassed the palace, and pronounced the irrevocable words, *Julian Augustus*.

At the dawn of day the soldiers forcibly entered the palace, seized with respectful violence the person of Julian, placed him on his tribunal, and with loud shouts saluted him emperor: and he was told, that if he wished to live he must consent to reign. To avoid civil commotions, he wrote a respectful letter to Constantius, acknowledging his supremacy, and the irregularity of his own elevation.

A. D. When Constantius signified by
361. his answer, that Julian should resign
the purple, his mandate was in such
reproachful

reproachful terms, that the new elected emperor declared he committed his safety to the *immortal Gods*, and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendship of the son of Constantine. The death of Constantius delivered the Roman provinces from the calamities of a civil war; he died at a little town about twelve miles beyond Tarsus. A weak attempt was made by Eusebius, to prolong the reign of the eunuchs, by the election of another emperor, but the army assured Julian, that every sword in the empire would be drawn at his command: And when that prince went to visit his new capital, and was arrived at Heraclea, all Constantinople poured forth to meet the youth who had vanquished the barbarians of Germany.

The philosophic Julian seemed to consider every moment lost, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind.

The army of spies and informers, enlisted by Constantius, was disbanded by Julian; the philosopher could pardon the expressions of wayward discontent, and the hero despised the wild projects of rash ambition. Ten of the body guards of the emperor had conspired his death; a moment of intoxication revealed their treasonable intentions; and Julian was contented with condemning to exile two of the principal offenders. In the execution of the son of Marcellus, who faintly aspired to empire, Julian seems to have forgotten his accustomed clemency; but by subsequent acts of liberality to his father, he en-

deavoured to heal the wound he had inflicted. A love of freedom and an attention to the forms of the republic are to be discerned throughout his reign; he absolutely refused the title of Dominus, or Lord; and on several occasions he declared to the world, that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow citizens, to the laws of the republic. The assemblies of the senate displayed the abilities of Julian as an orator, and his maxims as a republican.

The scandals of Christian controversy, the contests of the eastern bishops, and the frequent alteration of their creeds, soon changed the doubts of the philosophic emperor into invincible aversion. His independent spirit refused to yield to the passive and unresisting obedience required, in the name of religion, by the ministers of the church; and his aversion to Christianity was encreased, by being compelled to join in public worship with a sect he despised and abhorred. Amidst his preparations for the Persian war, he composed that work which contained the substance of the arguments he had so long revolved in his mind. The Christians had more to fear from the power, than the arguments of Julian; but the prudent humanity of that prince extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world a free toleration. He wished to restore the ancient temple of Jerusalem; the success of that undertaking would have been a specious argument against the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the præter-natural obstacles which interrupted the progress of the work.

work. It remains however, to observe, that there restoration of the Temple was attempted within the last six months of the life of Julian, and while that prince was absent, engaged in the Persian war.

The army of Julian was the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia; it consisted of sixty-five thousand well disciplined soldiers, a formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries, and several tribes of Saracens or Arabs. A fleet of eleven hundred ships navigating the Euphrates, attended the motions and supplied the wants of the army. His forces were divided into three columns, and the line of march extended almost ten miles. In every danger he was foremost, in every labour most assiduous: through the flat and flooded country, he marched on foot at the head of his legions; and the imperial purple was frequently as wet and dirty as the coarse garment of the meanest soldier. When he stood near the city of Perisabor he was almost overwhelmed by a sudden shower of darts and stones; and as he examined the fortifications of Maogamalcha, two Persians rushed upon him with drawn sabres; he sustained their strokes on a shield, and with his sword laid one dead at his feet. From the walls of Ctesiphon the emperor marched to seek the army of the Persian monarch, and, no longer confining himself to the banks of the Tigris or Euphrates, determined to advance into the inland provinces; he ordered eleven hundred vessels with their stores to be committed to the flames; and with scanty allowance the Roman army wandered several

days to the eastward of Bagdad. The sultry heat of an Assyrian summer oppressed the hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold region of Gaul and Germany; the restless mind of Julian, in his broken slumbers, was agitated by foreboding visions. A fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky and vanished from his sight, convinced him he had seen the menacing countenance of the God of war. When he had passed the hills which had been secretly occupied by the Persians, the rear of his army was suddenly attacked; in the heat of battle, a javelin after raising the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in an interior part of the liver; he fell senseless from his horse, and was conveyed to his tent; the fortune of the day was adverse to the barbarians. When Julian perceived that his wound was mortal, he employed the awful moments that remained as became a hero and a sage; and after reflecting with pleasure on the innocence of his private life, he said "I now offer
" my tribute of gratitude to the eternal Being,
" who has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures of lingering
" disease. He has given me in the midst of an
" honourable career, a splendid and glorious departure from the world; and I hold it equally
" absurd, equally base, to solicit, or to decline
" the stroke of fate. I shall only, as a good citizen, express my hopes, that the Romans may
" be blessed with the government of a virtuous
" sovereign." After this, he entered into an

argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. His wound, from the exertion, began to bleed afresh; he called for a draught of cold water, and this extraordinary man expired about midnight, in the thirty-second year of his age.

A. D. 363. While we inform the young student that this is the outline of the character of Julian, as drawn by the celebrated author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; impartiality obliges us to give him some idea of those dark shades which ecclesiastical writers in particular have thrown into the historical portrait of this emperor. The fair side of his character is drawn from the writings of *Julian* himself, and after him from those of *Libanius*, *Ammianus*, and *Zosimus*, his admirers, or rather adorers. But on the other hand, the Christian writers, *Gregory of Nazianzen*, *Philostorgius*, *Theodoret* and *Sozomen*, betray an equal prejudice against him. Even *Zonaris* tells us in plain terms, that, either promoted by ambition, or apprehending the fate of his brother *Gallus*, he gained the officers by bribes, who by his private directions stirred up the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that, to the eyes of the world, he might seem to have accepted the sovereignty to save his life. If *St. Gregory Nazianzen* is to be credited, *Julian* studied even in his youth, to deceive the world with the mask of piety; and that he was from his infancy, inclined to the religion of the ancient *Romans*, that is, to idolatry; but he himself tells us, that he was a Christian till he was twenty. *Ammianus* says,

D 4.

that

that he observed great temperance and sobriety in his diet, remembering, says he, the saying of Cato the elder, viz. *That whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue.*

Respecting the apostacy of Julian, ecclesiastical writers have exerted all their power to prove and to censure. We are told by *Labanius* that he no sooner saw himself master of *Illyricum*, than he opened the temples of the Gods, offered sacrifices according to the ancient rites, and exhorted all persons to follow his example, and restore to its former lustre the religion of their ancestors.

All authors agree, that the death of *Ursula*, a man of great merit and known integrity, was a stain upon the reputation of *Julian*. The emperor himself pretended that *Ursula* had been condemned and executed without his knowledge; but *Ammianus* himself owns that this is a weak excuse. To atone for this injustice, he ordered great part of the estate to be restored to his daughter, his only child.

The ecclesiastical writers make a long descant on the cruelties and innumerable murders committed by Julian, during his stay at Antioch. The above named St. Gregory Nazianzen pretends that the river Orantes, on which that city stood, was choaked up with dead bodies of such as had by his order been privately murdered, or thrown into the river in the night time: and adds, that the ponds and ditches were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and children
whom

whom he had inhumanly sacrificed, hoping to discover future events in their entrails.

These barbarous murders were kept secret during his lifetime, says Theodoret; but after his death many chests were found in the palace filled with the bones of those he had thus sacrificed. We must express our surprise that these cruelties should have been known only to Christian writers. The same Theodoret gives us the following anecdote, which proves Julian's liberality in religious disputes.

A principal citizen of Berea had disinherited his son because he had renounced the Christian religion. The emperor in the midst of a public banquet turned to the father and said, "I don't think it reasonable to use any violence in point of religion. Allow your son to profess a religion different from yours, as I allow you to profess one different from mine, though I have power to oblige you to renounce it." What! replied the father, "are you speaking in favour of a wretch who renounces the true God, and falls down before idols?"—Injuries and invectives," replied Julian, interrupting him, "are foreign to our purpose, and therefore I beg you would forbear them." Then turning to the son, he said, "It is incumbent upon me to take care of you, since your father is deaf to my prayers and intreaties in your behalf."

Ammianus Marcellinus, in his history of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of Julian's reign than any other writer. As that

historian was a Pagan, he bestows great encomiums upon a prince, who exerted his power to restore Paganism. However he has conquered his prejudice so far as to censure him where he thought he merited blame.

CHAPTER III.

*An historical Account of the Progress of Christianity,
Abuses of Ecclesiastical Power—Achronological
Account of the Councils of the Church.*

WHILE the Roman empire was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, the pure and humble religion of Christ insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigour from opposition, and finally erected the banner of the cross on the ruins of Pagan temples.

As the pure stream of Christianity in its passage through the realms of idolatry became impregnated with several particles of heathen worship; so much so that whenever the intelligent and observing enter the Cathedrals of modern Europe, Jewish ceremonies, Pagan sacrifices, and Roman deities are brought to their recollection; we shall therefore describe the state of religion in the Roman world before the introduction of Christianity.

The superstitious part of the Romans considered their religion as true, the philosopher knew it to be false, and the magistrate inculcated it as
D 6. useful.

useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord.

The superstition of the people was not embittered by any mixture of theological rancour, nor was it confined by the chains of any speculative system. The polytheist, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted with implicit faith the “ different religions of the earth. “ Fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream, or an omen, a singular disorder, or a distant journey, “ perpetually disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his “ protectors. The thin texture of the Pagan “ mythology was interwoven with various, but “ not discordant materials. As soon as it was allowed that sages and heroes who lived, or who “ had died for the benefit of their country, were “ exalted to a state of power and immortality, it “ was universally confessed that they deserved if “ not the adoration, at least the reverence of all “ mankind. The deities of a thousand groves “ and a thousand streams possessed in peace “ their local and respective influence; nor could “ he who deprecated the wrath of the Tiber, deride the Egyptian who presented his offering “ to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The “ visible powers of nature, the planets and the “ elements, were the same throughout the “ universe.

“ The spirit of inquiry, prompted by emulation “ and supported by freedom, had divided the “ public teachers of philosophy into a variety of “ contending sects; but the ingenuous youth “ who

“ who from every part resorted to Athens, and
“ the other seats of learning in the Roman em-
“ pire, were alike instructed in every school, to
“ reject and to despise the religion of the multi-
“ tude. How indeed was it possible that a phi-
“ losopher should accept, as divine truths, the
“ idle tales of the poets, and the incoherent
“ traditions of antiquity; or that he should
“ adore as gods, those imperfect beings whom he
“ must have despised as men! Against such un-
“ worthy adversaries, Cicero condescended to
“ employ the arms of reason and eloquence;
“ but the satire of Lucian, was a much more
“ adequate, as well as a more efficacious weapon.
“ We may be well assured, that a writer con-
“ versant with the world, would never have
“ ventured to expose the gods of his country to
“ public ridicule, had they not already been the
“ objects of secret contempt among the polished
“ and enlightened orders of society.

“ Notwithstanding the fashionable irreligion
“ which prevailed in the age of the Antonines,
“ both the interests of the priests, and the cre-
“ dulity of the people were sufficiently respected.
“ In their writings and conversation the philoso-
“ phers of antiquity asserted the dignity of rea-
“ son; but they resigned their actions to the
“ commands of law and of custom. Viewing
“ with a smile of pity and indulgence, the vari-
“ ous errors of the vulgar, they diligently prac-
“ tised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly
“ frequented the temples of the gods; and
“ sometimes condescending to act a part on the
theatre

“ of superstition, they concealed the sentiments
“ of an atheist under the sacerdotal robes. Rea-
“ soners of such a temper were scarcely inclined
“ to wrangle about their respective modes of
“ faith, or of worship. It was indifferent to
“ them what shape the folly of the multitude
“ might chuse to assume; and they approached
“ with the same inward contempt, and the same
“ external reverence, the altars of the Libyan,
“ the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter.”

The Romans knew and valued religion as an useful engine of government. The arts of divination and augury were made subservient to political purposes, and they inculcated it as an advantageous maxim, that the crime of perjury is most assuredly punished by the avenging gods. They had an indifference for the modes, and thought that every mode suited the climate for which it was adopted.

“ Rome gradually became the common tem-
“ ple of her subjects, and the freedom of the
“ city was bestowed on all the gods of man-
“ kind.”

The introduction of Christianity produced a total change in the religious sentiments of the inhabitants of the greater part of Europe, and of a considerable extent of Asia; it inculcated the unity of God, announced the purity of his character, and explained the service he required of men. This humble and pure religion made its progress among the civilized part of mankind by the sanctity of its doctrines and precepts; it sustained itself by the truth, wisdom, and humility
by

by which it was characterized. But it soon became corrupted by the introduction of worldly maxims; maxims very incongruous with the precepts of the placid and mild doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth. It was ever the practice of the crafty court of Rome to send their missionaries about the world with the saving grace of the gospel in one hand, and ingredients for usurping the civil power in the other; and entering into an alliance with the little despots of Europe, they sowed so many seeds of despotism with those of religion in the fertile soil of ignorance and superstition, that the believer and the sceptic are unable to determine, whether true Christianity or the liberties of mankind lost most by erecting the banners of the cross upon the ruins of the capitol.

The lofty title of Bishop arose from the necessity the primitive Christians were under of creating some one of their presbyters to execute during his life the duties of their ecclesiastical governor. But the limits of their original jurisdiction were confined to narrow bounds; and they were considered only as the first of their equals.

In the second century provincial synods, by decrees which they called canons, began to regulate every important controversy of faith and discipline, and it was reasonable to believe that a liberal effusion of the Holy Spirit would be poured on the delegates of the Christian people; but those canons unhappily breathe a spirit of ignorance, mixed with craft and superstition.

The progress of episcopal authority extended itself by gradual inroads upon civil rights: in the

the third century the prelates imperceptibly changed their tone of exhortation into that of command. The bishops pretended to be the vice-gerents of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the Mosaic law: and they frequently could reconcile the arts of the most ambitious statesmen with the Christian virtues, when they found them to aid their lucrative designs.

The office of perpetual president in the council of each province, was conferred on the bishop of every principal city, and they acquired the lofty titles of Metropolitans and Primates: nor was it long before pre-eminence and power prevailed among the Metropolitans themselves, when they set forth their claim to superiority. It was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience of the provinces. The Roman church was the most numerous, and, with regard to the west, the most ancient of all the Christian establishments.

As the banks of the Tyber had been honoured by the preaching and martyrdom of St. Peter, the bishops of Rome prudently claimed as their inheritance, the prerogatives which were attributed either to the person, or to the office of that apostle.

Cyprian connected his own cause with those of the eastern churches, and opposed with resolution and success the ambition of the Roman pontiff; and disgraceful must it be to see in two champions of religion, in their thirst for power, such passions as seem better adapted to the senate or the camp.

The progress of the ecclesiastical authority gave birth to the memorable distinction of the laity and clergy, which had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans. The clergy have undoubtedly furnished the most important, though not always the most edifying subjects, for modern history. Their mutual hostilities disturbed the peace of the infant church, and their love of power, under the most artful disguises, insinuated itself into the breasts of bishops, and martyrs, and animated them to enlarge the bounds of the Christian empire upon the violated domains of more virtuous savages.

It must be confessed that the fervour of the first proselytes to Christianity prompted them to sell those worldly possessions which they despised, to lay the price of them at the feet of the apostles to be enjoyed in common, conformable to that community of goods, which had so agreeably amused the imagination of Plato. But as the Christian religion gained more extensive bounds, this most religious institution relaxed, and each convert was permitted to increase his separate property by all the lawful means of trade and industry: And every one presented his voluntary offering for a fund to support the propagation of the gospel.

It must be observed, that when the Jews began to fall into contempt for their strict adherence to the Mosaic law, the clergy diligently inculcated, that in the article of *Tythes* the law of Moses was of divine *obligation*.

Before the reign of Decius the revenues of the church consisted of personal property only,

from a prohibition which it was under of acquiring landed estates; but before the close of the third century many considerable estates were bestowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and other cities. There were many unfaithful stewards of the riches of the church, who lavished in sensual pleasures, the donations of their brethren. A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the clergy, and a sufficiency allotted for the expences of public worship, of which their love-feasts, or *Agapæ*, constituted a pleasing and essential part. The remainder was the sacred patrimony of the poor; and the Pagans, while they derided their doctrines, admired their humanity and benevolence. The prospect of immediate relief, and of future protection which Christianity afforded, allured into its hospitable bosom, many of those unhappy persons whom the neglect of the world would have abandoned to the miseries of want, of sickness, and of old age.

The bishops maintained their episcopal government with such a high hand, that we should conclude from the imperious declamation of Cyprian, that it was less dangerous for the disciples of Christ to neglect the observance of moral duties, than to despise the censures and authority of the bishops.

The battering engine of clerical power was excommunication; it was a punishment of a temporal as well as of a spiritual nature; the unhappy objects of this sentence found themselves
abhorred

abhorred by persons whom religious prejudices had taught to esteem, and saw themselves the outcasts of society. These unfortunate exiles apprehended that the Deity had committed the keys of Hell and Paradise to the ecclesiastical governors, and that their punishment would extend to eternity. Humbled by a public confession, emaciated by fasting, and cloathed in sackcloth, the penitent lay prostrate at the door of the obdurate assembly, imploring with tears the pardon of his offences, and soliciting the prayers of the faithful. Calumniating a bishop, a presbyter, or even a deacon, was among the number of unpardonable crimes.

During the two first centuries, after the death of Christ, the most considerable body of his followers were contained within the provinces extending from the Euphrates to the Ionian sea, and was the principal theatre on which the Apostle of the Gentiles displayed his zeal and piety. Within eighty years after the death of the Prince of Peace, the humane Pliny laments in his curious epistle to the emperor Trajan, that the temples were almost deserted, that the sacred victims scarcely found any purchasers, and that superstition had infected the cities and even the villages of Pontus and Bithynia,

Under the reign of Theodosius, the church of Antioch consisted of one hundred thousand persons, three thousand of whom were supported out of the public oblations. And under the reign of the elder Justin, one fifth of the inhabitants of that great city were Christians. Eusebius

bius informs us, that there were in Rome about the middle of the third century, and after a peace of thirty eight years, one bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons, and many other subordinate officers of the church: the number of the poor maintained by oblations amounted to fifteen hundred. He supposes the twentieth part of the inhabitants, in number fifty thousand, to have been Christians. But according to the irreproachable testimony of Origen, the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude of the unbelieving world.

Before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine the Great, there were ten persecutions against the church, by the emperors Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Antonius, and their successors. In the midst of these persecutions, the Christians found an apologist in the celebrated Justin Martyr whose writings according to Eusebius were read in the Roman senate, in the time of Antonius, and abated the rage of that emperor towards the disciples of the faith. The love of impartiality obliges us to inform the young student, that the ecclesiastical writers have given us an account of these persecutions, which the testimony of contemporary historians inclines us to pronounce exaggerated, if not fictitious.

A. D. When Constantine became a convert
365. to the Christian faith, he ordered the
temples of the Christians to be rebuilt,
which had been destroyed in the persecution of
Dioclesian. During the reign of his son Con-
stantius,

stantius, the Arian and Athanasian controversy raged with a violence that disgraced the humble doctrine of Jesus. This dispute originated from an assertion of Arius, that the word *omousios* (similar essence) was not in the holy scripture. But the sunshine of the church was most clouded by the emperor Julian, the favourer of the ancient religion of the Romans. As ecclesiastic writers themselves confessed that this emperor forebore to issue a public mandate for persecuting the Christians; we are led to conclude, that the enmity of the philosophic Julian was directed to the lands and authority of the priests, rather than to their persons, or their pure and humble doctrine.

The emperors Theodosius and Justin were friendly to the Christians. The latter restored the bishops, whom Anastasius had banished; but he drove the Arian bishops into exile.

The temporal power of the Roman pontiffs is of ancient date in the annals of the church. Constantine the Great gave to Basilicus of Lateran, more than a thousand marks of gold, and about thirty thousand marks of silver, and also encreased this munificence by adding permanent possessions. In consideration of these donations, the holy fathers were charged with the functions of relieving the poor, and sending missionaries into the east and west. They possessed near Rome, revenues, castles, and domains, which they called the *Rights of St. Peter*. Successive emperors and Lombard kings presented them with various lands: and private persons enriched, by donations

or

or by testament, the heads of the church, who had extended the religion, and softened the manners of those barbarians who had overspread the empire. When the grandeur of Rome was fallen, the Popes conceived the design of rendering it an independent ecclesiastical state; and through the weakness of the Greek emperors who defended Rome, these fathers, clothed in humility, began their schemes of ambition under Pepin, king of France, and accomplished their independency under the reigns of Charlemagne and his sons. The following are the principal historical facts which lead us to the origin of papal importance.

A. D. Leo Isaiucus emperor of Constanti-
726. nople prohibited the worship of images.

Gregory the second, then bishop of Rome, opposed the emperor's edict, and procured the assistance of Luitprand; the populace rose at Ravenna, and murdered the exarch, a creature of the emperor. But Leo still insisting that his favourite edict should be enforced at Rome, the people of that city, at the instigation of Gregory, withdrew their allegiance from the Greek emperor. Hence the rise of the Pope's temporal power.

When Leo was informed of this revolt, he ordered a powerful army to be raised, with a design both to chastise the rebels and take vengeance on the Pope. Gregory looked round for assistance and protection; he thought the Lombards too near neighbours to be trusted, and the Venetians were not yet of sufficient force to
withstand

withstand the strength of the Greek empire. Spain was at that time over-run by the Saracens; the French seemed, therefore, the only people to whom it was advisable to apply for aid, as they were at once able to oppose the emperor, and enemies to the edict for breaking images. France was then under the government of Charles Martel, the greatest commander of his age. The French, glad to get any concern in the affairs of Italy, became the protectors of the church. But the hostile intentions of Leo and Gregory were frustrated by their death; Gregory the third succeeded to the see of Rome, and some years after Constantius Copronymus filled the imperial throne of his father Leo, who not only renewed his father's edict against the worship of images, but prohibited the invocation of saints. This new edict confirmed the Romans in the resolution they had taken of separating themselves entirely from the empire. They drove out of Rome such of the imperial officers as had been suffered to remain there, and abolished by that means the very shadow of subjection to the emperor.

A. D. Charles Martel and Gregory the
741. third died soon after Leo. Zachery,
an active and enterprising prelate, was
chosen to the see of Rome. Immediately after
his election, he waited upon Luitprand, and obtained the restoration of four cities in the territory of Rome, which had been yielded to that prince, as a ransom for the capital, when ready to fall into his hands.

Pepin of France, son of Charles Martel, was created king by Pope Zachery for his friendship

to the church, or rather because he had extended its landed property; and Childeric was deposed, while Pepin was solemnly anointed by the bishop of Metz at Soissons.

A. D. Crowning and anointing were supposed necessary to sovereignty. This 752. was the *period*, and this was the *ceremony* in which thrones and altars entered into alliance to enslave mankind. A pious ceremony gave the church a power of disposing of kingdoms, and kings a power of claiming a divine right to tyrannize over their subjects.

By slow and artful gradations these ecclesiastical tyrants usurped authority fatal to princes. Even the barbarous and tyrannical Chilperic was obliged to call a council and fall down at the feet of bishops, to procure the condemnation of one of their fraternity who had merited his displeasure. In the courts of princes they were at the head of councils, forming plots and intrigues, how to assume the reins of government, and overturn the authority of their hospitable masters. In Spain, the cradle of ecclesiastical tyranny, the most important affairs were decided by the edicts of priests; kings were deposed and condemned to the most degrading penances. Monastries were erected, in which ignorance and superstition aided the designs of the more crafty and ambitious. In this age of priestcraft, enchantment, forceries, witchcraft, famine, storms and pestilence, were all made subservient to clerical power.

Adulation

A. D. Adulation to princes was a favourite
710. resource to ecclesiastics. Pope Anastasius, when he heard of the conversion of Clovis, king of France, wrote a letter of congratulation, exhorting him to rule with a *rod* of iron to support the church. Gregory the Great, wrote to Childebert the second, telling him that his kingdom was above others, and that kings were a superior kind of beings to other men.

The Barbarians, who had made frequent inroads upon their neighbours, came loaded with crimes and spoils to the priests, whom they had been taught to believe were empowered by the Almighty, to absolve them from their sins. As pardon for every crime against society might be procured for gold, they thought that seats, in the celestial paradise, might be purchased with equal facility in the priestly market; and those were accounted the most virtuous donors whom rapine and extortion enabled to purchase their absolutions at the highest price, as if avarice was the first attribute of the divinity.

At length the papal dignity was so high, that there wanted nothing but a pontiff of inflexible pride and austerity to put the finishing hand to their usurping plan. Gregory the eighth was this man; his pride, disdaining the idea of being the subject of an emperor, suggested to him the ghostly machinery, to make kings and princes rise and fall by his smiles and frowns. He required the empire, Spain and England, to pay homage to the Roman see. Henry the fourth was fired with indignation at this ambitious de-

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sign,

sign, and to oppose him, lighted up the torch of war.

A. D. Gregory began by excommunicating
1083. all who received benefices from the
laity, and such of the laity who presented them.

The ecclesiastical engine *excommunication*, has been the battering ram upon every spiritual attack, from the Druids in the time of Cæsar to our own times. By the assistance of this instrument the Popes brought princes at their feet, imploring benediction and pardon, which they were certain to receive whenever they increased either the emolument or the power of the church. A veil of black was thrown over the sanguinary limbs of superstition, and the monster was conducted by her ministers through every European nation, inspiring the weak and credulous with fear, cruelty, and error.

The history of the Popes, the wars which they occasioned, their disputes with the emperors of the east, and the schisms of the patriarchs of Constantinople, might be enumerated to prove these general assertions of the perversion of the pure and simple doctrine of Christianity.

Referring the young historian to more voluminous performances for further instruction in the history of the church, we shall proceed to give him a general outline of ecclesiastical synods, or councils.

COUNCILS

COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH.

A. D. 325. 1. The general council of Nice; in Asia Minor, consisting of three hundred and eighteen bishops, in the presence of the emperor Constantine. The Nicene creed in our communion service, was settled and framed in this council.

2. The council of Constantinople, composed of one hundred and fifty bishops against Macedonius, and Apollinarius, who denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

A. D. 431. 3. The general council of Ephesus, at which the Virgin Mary was declared to be the mother of God.

A. D. 451. 4. The council of Chalcedon, at which Eutychicus, and Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, were banished and excommunicated, because they held that there was but one nature in Jesus Christ.

A. D. 590. 5. At the council of Seville, in Spain, the bishops decreed, that those women, who should have criminal connection with the priesthood, should be subject to the secular judges, whom they empowered to try them.

A. D. 592. 6. At the council of Saragossa, the bishops ordered that the clergy should renounce Arianism; and they further decreed, that the relicts of saints found in the churches of Arians, should be proved by fire before they were acknowledged true relicts.

A. D. 599. 7. The council of Barcelona against Simony.

A. D. 705. 8. A council in England, to establish S. Wilfrid in his church at York.

A. D. 750. 9. Charlemagne assembled a council at Worms, to establish the faith, and to regulate the discipline of the church.

A. D. 809. 10. At the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, where Charlemagne then resided, the fathers of the council sent three legates to Leo the third, to demand permission to sing at mass the Nicene creed, with this addition, *qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*.

A. D. 842. 11. The council of Constantinople was held for the re-establishment of the worship of images.

In the tenth century there were about eighteen councils held in various parts of Europe, to settle the disorders and correct the vices of the clergy.

A. D. 1075. In the eleventh century there were above forty councils held to regulate the differences and usurpations of ecclesiastics, among which one was held at London to settle the ranks of bishops.

A. D. 1100. At a council held at Poitiers, Philip king of France was threatened with excommunication in case he refused to abandon Bertrade his wife, whom he had married after she had procured the consent of her husband, then living, with a sum of money.

In

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most of the ecclesiastical councils were called to regulate the disputes concerning the presentation to* benefices, and differences between temporal and spiritual Lords, both equally inimical to the freedom of the people; but from the absurd contentions of these two species of tyrants, the people in municipal confederacy began to acquire some adequate notion of their importance in the scale of human beings.

A. D. Early in the fourteenth century
1311. there was a council held at Vienne in France, by order of Clement the fifth, at which were present three hundred bishops, Philip, king of France, Edward the second, king of England, and James the second, the king of Arragon. They enquired into the crimes of the Templars, whom they punished with implacable fury; they proposed another expedition into the Holy Land; the reformation of the manners of the clergy, and the utility of establishing professors of the oriental languages in the universities.

In this century a council was held
1382 at London, to condemn the errors of
and the English Wickliff. A few years
1397 after another was held at Constance, in

A. D. * In the council of Lateran it was decreed that no
1179. clergyman should hold two livings. By another council of Lateran in the year 1215, that decree was ratified, with this condition, that the Pope should have a power of granting a dispensation to eminent and pious persons. Since that period every king has acted as Pope of his dominions, and issued dispensations for holding more livings than one, to the disgrace of Christianity.

Germany, to anathematise the heresies of Wickliff, and John Hus. The latter, with Jerom of Prague, were burnt alive.

The last general council of importance was held at Trente, in Germany, to condemn the reformation of Luther; it lasted eighteen years, at which were present five cardinals, thirty three archbishops, two hundred and thirty five bishops, and one hundred and sixty doctors in divinity.

John Wickliff, whose doctrines were anathematized at the council of Constance, began to propagate his doctrines in the latter end of Edward's reign. He has the honour of being the first person who had sagacity to see, and courage to contradict publicly the errors of the church of Rome. He maintained that the scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety. Though the minds of men were not then ripe for the reception of the truths he endeavoured to inculcate, yet he laid the foundation of those church reforms which a considerable part of Europe have since adopted.

CHAPTER IV.

The Reign of Jovian and Valentinian—The final Division of the Eastern and Western Empires—Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius—Two Invasions of Italy by Alaric and Radagaisus—Conquests of Attila—Extinction of the Western Empire—The Saxons in Britain.

UPON the death of Julian, the army elected Jovian to the imperial command; and the first material act of the new emperor was a disgraceful peace with the Persians, to whom he relinquished the provinces acquired by the arms of Galerius. The Christian faith of Jovian was announced to his people by his displaying, in his march from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the cross at the head of his legions. The emperor declared his attachment to the Nicene creed by the reverence he expressed for Athanasius. This veteran of the faith assured Jovian, that his devotion would be rewarded by a long and successful reign; but this prediction was soon refuted, for the emperor, after indulging in an intemperate supper, retired to rest, and the next morning was found dead in his bed.

A. D. 364. After the death of Jovian, Valentinian, the son of Count Gratian, was invested with the purple, and when he arrived at Constantinople, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens.

Valentinian, in the final division of the empire, assigned to his brother the government of the east, with the capital of Constantinople; he reserved to himself the præfectureships of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, and fixed his residence at Milan.

Valens was disturbed in the government of the eastern empire by the rebellion of Procopius; but at length that unfortunate kinsman of Julian was betrayed by his troops, and after wandering some time among the woods, he suffered the punishment of his offence. Rome and Antioch, during the reign of the two brothers, were equally polluted by frequent executions, from different motives; but when rage or terror influenced not the conduct of Valentinian and Valens, their laws were just, their government temperate, and their regulations humane. The most honourable circumstance in the character of Valentinian is the impartiality he preserved in an age of religious contention; and his wise and moderate administration contributed to soften the manners and abate the prejudices of religious factions. The artful ecclesiastics were no longer permitted to receive any gift or legacy from their spiritual daughters; but under the pretensions of piety, this regulation was evaded, to extend the possessions of the church.

The

The Roman province of Britain was reduced to a state of civilization and servitude ; but the commanders of the southern parts were frequently cut off by the Scots and Picts. After a long consultation, Valentinian entrusted the defence of Britain to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. He crossed the channel in a favourable moment of navigation ; and at the head of the veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and Victors, pursued his successful march from Sandwich to London. In two campaigns his prudent spirit and consummate art rescued every part of the province from the rapacious enemy ; the splendor of the cities and the strength of the fortifications were restored, and the trembling Caledonians were confined to the northern angle of the island. On his return, Theodosius was appointed master-general of the cavalry ; he defeated the Alemanni, and was afterwards chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

A. D. Valens in person passed the Danube
370. in a bridge of boats, and defeated Athanaric at the head of the Gothic army ; the pursuit of the Goths was rendered more bloody by an offer from the victorious generals of a reward for the head of every Goth. The barbarians submitted ; the terms of peace were adjusted by Valens and Athanaric, who met in their respective barges in the middle of the Danube.

While Valentinian was reviling, in the most intemperate language, the ambassadors of the Quadi, a blood vessel burst in his body, and he

fell speechless into the arms of his attendants, and expired in the fifty-fourth year of his age, having nearly completed the twelfth year of his reign.

After the death of Valentinian, the Roman world was governed in the joint names of Valens, Gratian, the eldest son of the late emperor, and Valentinian, an infant son of four years old; but the power of Valens was confined to the east, nor was he suffered to interfere in the administration of the west.

From the reign of Valens may be dated the fall of the Roman empire. The invasion of the Huns impelled the Gothic nation on the provinces of the west: the original cause of these inroads existed in the remote countries of the north; and by considering the tribes of hunters and shepherds which, in every age, have inhabited the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary, these emigrations may be illustrated. Their active valour has overturned the thrones of Asia, and spread devastation through the countries of Europe.

These shepherds of the north, too indolent to cultivate the earth, depend for subsistence on their numerous flocks and herds; and the singular taste of the savages of Scythia for horse flesh, facilitates their military operations; in their rapid incursions, the cavalry is always followed by an adequate number of spare horses, which may be used to redouble the speed, or satisfy the hunger of the barbarians. In a hasty march they provide themselves with little balls

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of hard curd, which they dissolve in water; and this diet will support for many days the life and even spirits of the patient Tantar.

Their vagrant tribes were united under a supreme head, on whom they bestowed the title of Khan. The extent of Scythia is from the mouth of the Danube to the sea of Japan, in longitude five thousand miles, and in latitude above one thousand miles, till we are stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia.

The Huns, who in the reign of Valens threatened the Roman empire, had, in a more early period, been formidable to that of China. Their original seat was, probably, a tract of country on the north side of the great wall. A dark interval elapsed, after the Huns of the Volga were lost to the Chinese, before they shewed themselves to the Romans. After crossing the Volga to the west, they invaded the plains between the Volga and the Tanais; and after adding the Alani to their forces, they proceeded to invade the dominions of the Gothic emperor, Hermanric, who was alarmed at this formidable host of unknown enemies.

While Lupicinus and Maximus managed the military government of Thrace, the Goths spread devastation through that province; and their course was marked by the conflagration of villages, and the mangled bodies of the inhabitants. While Gratian enjoyed the applause of his people of the west, the emperor Valens was received at Constantinople with murmurs and reproaches. He was urged by the clamours of

the multitude to march against the barbarians, whom he had incautiously admitted into his dominions; and the insults of the presumptuous citizens provoked the fatal rashness of Valens, and hastened the downfall of the Roman empire.

A. D. On the ninth of August, the emperor
378. marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about

twelve miles from that city. By some mistake, the right wing arrived in sight of the enemy, whilst the left was at a considerable distance; and the soldiers of the latter, in endeavouring to quicken their pace, were thrown into unavoidable confusion. While Fritigern anxiously expected the return of the Gothic cavalry, which had been detached to forage in the adjacent country, he continued to practise his former arts; and during some hours of fruitless negotiation, the Romans, exhausted by hunger and thirst, were exposed to the rays of a burning sun.

The return of the Gothic squadrons commanded by Alatheus and Saphras was the signal for battle; the Roman cavalry fled before them; the Roman infantry, abandoned and surrounded on every side, was broken and cut to pieces. The emperor Valens, wounded and deserted by his guards, sought protection among the Lancearii and Mattiarii, who still maintained their ground. His generals, Trajan and Victor, apprised of his danger, flew with a small body of troops to his rescue; but on forcing their way to the spot, they found only broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their prince,

prince, dead or alive. In this unfortunate battle two thirds of the Roman army perished; and the remainder was only saved by the approach of night, and the calm courage of Victor and Richomer.

The barbarians, elated by this success, approached the suburbs of Constantinople, from which they were driven by some Saracens in Roman pay; and the Goths stood astonished, when they saw a naked Arab apply his lips to the wound, and suck the blood, of a Gothic soldier whom he had slain. The northern barbarians retired from Constantinople, and possessing themselves of the narrow pass of Succii, in the defiles of Mount Hæmus, they spread themselves over a fertile country, as far as the confines of Italy, and the Hadriatic sea.

Under this depression of the empire, Gratian invested the great Theodosius with the purple, then an exile, and whose father, the restorer of Britain and Gaul, had suffered only three years before, an unjust and ignominious death, under the authority of Gratian himself.

Atharic, the aged Gothic monarch, listened to the fair proposal of an honourable treaty. Theodosius entertained in Constantinople his new ally with the magnificence of a monarch. When the barbarian prince beheld that magnificent city, he exclaimed. "The emperor of the
" Romans, is without doubt a God upon earth,
" and the presumptuous man who dares to lift
" his hand against him is guilty of his own
" blood." Upon the death of Atharic, his
whole

whole army enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire, and the final capitulation of the Goths may be dated four years and near two months after the death of the emperor Valens.

The revolt of Maximus in Britain, soon decided the fate of Gratian, emperor of the west. This bold candidate for imperial dignity was a native of Spain, and he fellow soldier and rival of Theodosius. He had been long fixed in Britain, and some doubtful testimonies have given him in marriage to the daughter of a lord of Caernarvonshire. The tumultuary but unanimous voice of the provincials proclaimed him emperor. If we give credit to his own declaration, he was compelled to accept the imperial purple. He invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which have long been remembered, as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation.

The standard of Gratian was abandoned even by the troops of the palace, and he fled towards Lyons, with a feeble train of three hundred horse. The arrival of Andragathius, the general of Maximus, put an end to his suspense; and Gratian was delivered to the assassin, who boldly terminated by death a reign of eight years. The grief of Theodosius for the fate of Gratian was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus, who offered in a firm tone, in the name of his master, the alternative of peace or war; and declared, that he was ready to dispute in a field of battle, the empire of the world. Theodosius accepted the alliance of the tyrant; but

but he stipulated that Maximus should content himself with the countries beyond the Alps, and that Valentinian, the brother of Gratian, should be secured in the government of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum.

Theodosius subdued the Arian heresy, and abolished the worship of idols in the Roman world. Justina, the mother of young Valentinian, who administered the affairs of Italy in his name, was attached to the Arian heresy. Theodosius married her daughter the princess Galla, who powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian. The usurper Maximus, was defeated near Aquileia, and conducted to the camp of Theodosius, and was abandoned by the emperor to the vengeance of the soldiers, who instantly separated his head from his body.

The citizens of Theſſalonica had offended Theodosius by a civil commotion: while they were engaged with the games of the Circus, by the contrivance of the emperor, the streets were lined with barbarian soldiers; and in three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of guilt, or innocence, fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed.

Before Justinian had accomplished his twentieth year, and after a disagreement with his general Arbogastes, he was found strangled in his apartment.

When the Roman world acknowledged the authority of Theodosius, the increasing symptoms of a dropſy announced his speedy dissolution. His two ſons Arcadius, and Honorius, had

had already obtained from their father the title of Augustus. To the former was allotted the throne of Constantinople, and to the latter the sceptre of the west; he arrived but just in time to receive it from the hands of Theodosius, who expired in the palace of Milan, in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the sixteenth year of a reign invariably prosperous.*

A. D. Two occurrences during this reign
395. demand our attention. First, the laying aside the defensive armour which they had invariably worn from the first foundation of the city; and by exposing their naked bodies to the weapons of the barbarians, they ensured defeat, and hastened the fall of the empire. Second, the ruin of Paganism: the Roman senate, influenced by the wishes of the emperor, condemned by a large majority the ancient rites, and degraded the majesty of Jupiter. And twenty eight days after the death of Theodosius, the vestiges of Paganism were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator.

The subjects who studied the character of their sovereign, discovered that Honorius was without talents or passions; and during an eventful reign of twenty eight years, it is scarce necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius. But

* Among the writers who flourished under Theodosius, was the celebrated orator *Symmachus*, and Victor the historian. The name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor* is common to him with another historian in the time of Valens; but from him he is distinguished by the surname of Junior. The short remains we have of his work is called *The Epitome of Victor*.

the valour and abilities of his master-general compensated in some degree for the incapacity of the monarch.

The Goths, under the renowned Alaric, had spread their devastations from the woody shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantinople. He traversed the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly, and deluged the fields of Phocis, and Bæotia, with his innumerable host of barbarians. Thebes was preserved by the haste of Alaric to occupy the city of Athens. The Athenians ransomed their buildings and inhabitants, with part of their wealth; Corinth, Sparta, and Argos, tamely submitted to the Goths. Arcadius, the emperor of the west, sent his general Stilicho to the relief of Greece: but the emperor of the east entered into a treaty with Alaric; and that Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magistrate in the cities he had so lately besieged.

Elated by this success, and seated between the eastern and western empires, Alaric was tempted by the wealth and beauty of Italy, to aspire to the conquest of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated spoils of the ancient mistress of the world. The general of the west, hastily ascended the Alps in the midst of winter; and summoned to the defence of Italy the most remote troops of the west; even the legion which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain was hastily recalled. Alaric advanced towards Milan, and enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing the emperor of the west fly before him. But at length the forces of Alaric were defeated by
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the Roman general Stilicho, and among several thousands of captives was the wife of Alaric. After this defeat the Gothic general advanced with his cavalry to the gates of Rome, but the capital was saved for that time, by purchasing the absence of the barbarians. Honorius retired to Ravenna, for safety, which, till the middle of the eighth century, was considered as the seat of government, and the capital of Italy.

After this retreat of Alaric, Radagaisus at the head of an united army of two hundred thousand fighting men, poured like a deluge along the bank of the upper Danube. The safety of Rome was entrusted to the sword of Stilicho, who once more called the troops from the provinces, and hastened to the relief of Florence, besieged by those barbarians, whom he defeated; and deserved a second time the glorious title of the deliverer of Italy.

With Radagaisus perished more than one third of the various multitude of Sueves, Vandals, and Burgundians.

A. D. The Vandals, and the Alani, on the
406. last day of the year, when the Rhine was probably frozen, passed over into the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This passage of the barbarians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire, in the countries beyond the Alps. The cities of Mentz, Worms, Strasbourg, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, and Amiens, experienced the cruelty and rapacity of the Germans; and in less than two years the troops of the savages of the Baltic advanced, without a combat, to the foot of the Pyrennæan mountains.

The absurd cruelty of the ministers of Honorius, involved in one promiscuous slaughter, which was executed at a certain signal throughout Italy, the pledges for the fidelity of the martial barbarians. The republic lost the assistance, and deserved the enmity of thirty thousand of her bravest soldiers; the injured barbarians cast a look of hope and indignation towards the camp of Alaric, and swore to avenge, by implacable hostility, the base violation of the laws of hospitality.

Alaric, from his camp on the confines of Italy, attentively watched the resolutions of the palace. While the ministers of Ravenna, maintained a sullen silence, Alaric by bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po, pillaged the cities of Aquileia, and Cremona, increased his army by the accession of the discontented auxiliaries, and advanced to the Flaminian way, and pitched his camp under the lofty walls of Rome. During a period of six hundred and nineteen years, the seat of empire had never been violated by the presence of a foreign enemy. The inhabitants of the city when besieged by Alaric, might amount to twelve hundred thousand persons, they were reduced to the greatest distress by famine, and a dark suspicion was entertained, that some fed on the bodies of their fellow creatures, whom they had secretly murdered. Ambassadors from the city informed Alaric, that unless an honourable capitulation was agreed to, an innumerable people, animated by despair, were prepared to give battle to the besiegers. "The thicker the hay,
" the

“ the easier it is moved,” was the concise reply, and the rustic metaphor of Alaric; and he condescended to fix the price of his retreat from Rome, at the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds weight of pepper. The city with difficulty satisfied the rapacious demand of the Gothic monarch, whose army advanced into the fruitful country of Tuscany.

A. D. 409. A few months after the first capitulation, Rome was a second time attacked by Alaric, who declared if the city refused to surrender, he would instantly destroy the magazines. The terror of famine, subdued the pride of the senate; they obeyed the Gothic conqueror, who commanded them to elevate a new emperor to the throne of Honorius, and to bestow the imperial purple on Attalus the præfect of the city. Honorius agreed to divide the provinces of Italy and the west between the two emperors.

But the failure of the African expedition diminished the reputation of Attalus, and his imprudence in opposing the designs of Alaric, completed his disgrace; he was despoiled of his diadem, and the ensigns of royalty were sent by Alaric to Honorius, as the pledge of peace and friendship. But the Gothic conqueror received some disgust at the minister of Honorius, and appeared again in arms under the walls of Rome: The Salarian gate was opened by secret conspiracy;

racy; at the hour of midnight the inhabitants were awakened by the sound of the Gothic trumpet, and the imperial city was abandoned to the avarice and licentious fury of the tribes of Germany, and Scythia. Many private and public works of magnificence were destroyed by fire, and the palace of Sallust was reduced by the conflagration to a stately ruin. Those who escaped the unrelenting sword of the barbarians were reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles.

After Alaric had glutted his army with the spoils of Rome, on the sixth day he evacuated the city, and advanced along the Apennines into the southern provinces of Italy; and while he aspired to Sicily and Africa, a premature death finished his life and conquests. The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed in the funeral of the hero: By the labour of their captives, they had turned the course of the river Bufentinus, that washes the walls of Consentia; the royal sepulchre, adorned with the spoils and trophies of Rome, was built in the vacant bed; and the secret spot was concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners employed in the work!

Arcadius, emperor of the east, expired in his palace at Constantinople, in the thirty first year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his reign, leaving behind him an only son, no more than seven years old, and three daughters. The historian Procopius asserts, that Arcadius bequeathed the protection of his son to Jezdegerd, the Persian monarch; and that the ancient rival of imperial

perial power, discharged his trust with fidelity. Honorius expired in consequence of a dropsy, after a reign of twenty eight years. John, who had filled the office of principal secretary, usurped the throne of the west; but he was defeated, and at Ravenna his right hand was cut off; and after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, he was beheaded in the circus of Aquileia.

A. D. Then Valentinian the third, at the
425. age of six years, was created emperor of
the west.

The name of Attila, king of the Huns, at this time began to be formidable to the Romans; to his alliance with the Franks and Vandals he added a new claim in the character of the lover of Honoria, the sister of Valentinian.

Germans and Scythians crowded to the standard of Attila. The Hercynian forest supplied materials for a bridge of boats, and the hostile myriads were poured into the Belgic provinces across the Rhine. The inhabitants of Metz were involved in a promiscuous massacre, and the buildings were consumed by the flames. He advanced into the heart of Gaul and fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. Theodoric king of the Visigoths advanced to save Gaul, and both armies met in the plains of Chalons. Attila in person at the head of his Huns, occupied the center line; the right wing was commanded by Ardaric, king of Gepidæ: the three valiant brothers who reigned over the Astrogoths, were posted on the left, to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths, which were led on by Theodoric on the
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the right, and Torrismond on the left. In this memorable battle of Chalons perished one hundred and sixty two thousand, or according to another account, three hundred thousand persons; it was decided by the blind valour of undisciplined barbarians. The Goths were frequently repulsed by the forces of Attila; and the body of Theodoric was found among the slain. After the departure of the Goths, Attila remained some days in the circle of his waggons, and his retreat beyond the Rhine confessed the last victory achieved in the name of the western empire. But the defeat of Attila, had neither impaired his spirit nor forces; in the ensuing spring, he again demanded Honoria, and her patrimonial treasures. His demand was again refused; he passed the Alps, and, after a long siege, levelled Aquileia, with the ground. At length his marriage with Honoria, was celebrated at his palace beyond the Danube; the king retired from the banquet to the nuptial bed: his attendants, on entering the royal apartment the ensuing day, discovered the bride lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king: an artery had burst during the night, and as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood. His funeral was celebrated with savage pomp; his remains were inclosed in three coffins, of gold, silver and iron; the spoils of nations were thrown into the grave; and the captives who had opened the ground, were inhumanly massacred.

The death of this Scythian Monarch was attended by the destruction of his race and empire; his sons fell in several battles, and the remaining
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hords retired into the lesser Scythia, who were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians.

A. D. After Valentinian had reigned thirty
455. years, he fell a victim to the rage of an injured subject. The emperor had, by false pretences, ordered the wife of Petronius Maximus to attend his palace, whose chastity he violated by force; her tears on her return, betrayed the guilty secret to her husband, who procured two ruffians to dispatch the emperor, with their daggers, in the field of Mars. Petronius Maximus was saluted emperor, his blind impulse for revenge, compelled the empress Eudoxia to submit to his embraces. She considered him as the assassin of her deceased husband, and secretly implored the aid of Genseric the king of the Vandals. He cast anchor with a numerous fleet at the mouth of the Tyber. Maximus was assaulted in the streets by a shower of stones, and fell, after a reign of three months, by the sword of a soldier. On the third day after his death, Genseric advanced to the gates of the defenceless capital. Rome and its inhabitants were delivered to the licentiousness of the Moors and Vandals; the pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and whatever yet remained of public or of private wealth, was diligently carried to the vessels of Genseric, and transported to Carthage.

A. D. The annual assembly, which was
455. held at Arles, elevated Avitus to the throne; and the consent of Marcian, the emperor of the east, was easily obtained. But he soon fell a victim to the murmurs of the people;

ple; and Majorian was elevated to the imperial dignity. Majorian in person led many thousands of the Gepidæ, and Ostrogoths, over the Alps, in the midst of a severe winter; and afterwards vanquished and admitted to his alliance the valiant king of the Goths. Majorian prepared a fleet to attack Carthage; but it was surprised by Genseric in the bay of Carthage; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day. An impetuous sedition compelled him to resign, and five days after he died of a dysentery. Count Ricimer, that he might not in future be offended by superior merit, raised from an obscure situation to the throne Libius Severus, whose reign and life were terminated in six years, as soon as they were inconvenient to Ricimer. During this period the kingdom of Italy was afflicted by the depredations of the Vandals; they repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily; their arms spread desolation from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. Ricimer, embarrassed with the difficulties of his situation, in vain solicited the assistance of Constantinople.

Marcian, the emperor of the east, refused to draw his sword in defence of the west.

On the death of Marcian, the patrician Aspar might have ascended the throne, if he would have subscribed to the Nicene creed. His influence raised Leo of Thrace to the imperial dignity, who prepared a fleet of 1113 ships, which set sail under the command of Basiliscus against

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the Vandals of Carthage; but that commander was totally defeated by the Moors and Vandals; and the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia, were again exposed to the avarice and revenge of Genserich. After these transactions, Ricimer meditated the ruin of Anthemius, the emperor of the west; he tempted Olybrius with the offer of the diadem. The latter set sail from Constantinople, and arrived in the camp of Ricimer, as the sovereign of the west.

A. D. Rome was again exposed to the destructive effects of military rage; and
472. Anthemius, dragged from his concealment, was massacred by the command of Ricimer, his son-in-law.

Zeno, the emperor of the east, appointed Odoacer to govern Italy under the title of *Patrician*; he was the first barbarian who reigned in Italy.

Two events, and important in themselves, the institution of the monastic life, and the conversion of the northern barbarians, are connected with the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

Antony, an illiterate youth, advanced into the desert, and fixed his monastic residence on Mount Cobzim, near the Red Sea. A numerous progeny was soon formed by his example and his lessons; the mountain and desert to the south of Alexandria was peopled by five thousand anchorites; the stately city of Oxyrinthus exulted in thirty thousand persons of the monastic profession; and Egypt boasted that the number of her monks equalled the remainder of her inhabitants.

The laborious peasant, or ingenious mechanic, might find a secure refuge from imperial oppression in the recesses of a cloister. Rome beheld with astonishment and indignation whole legions, which might have protected her provinces from the barbarians, buried in religious sanctuaries, or concealed in the solitude of the deserts.

The fifth century after the Christian æra beheld the total extinction of the Roman empire in the west. At that unhappy period the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain; Gaul and Spain were divided between the monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths, and the dependant kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians; Africa was oppressed by the Vandals, and ravaged by the Moors; Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were exhausted by the lawless arms of warlike barbarians, who assumed the title of *confederates*; and their tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth. The subjects of the empire were on every side afflicted by the victorious nations of Germany, who established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe; and the following have been related as the causes of so singular a revolution.

The decay of Rome has been frequently assigned to the translation of the seat of empire; but we may impartially pronounce, that the foundation of Constantinople tended rather to procrastinate the fate of the east, than to accelerate the ruin of the west.

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The victory of the Christian religion over blind Paganism was unfortunately disgraced by the fatal dissensions of the church; persecuted sects became the enemies of their country; and the vigour that might have repelled the invaders of the empire was buried in monasteries and cloisters. But while the establishment of Christianity has been charged with accelerating the fall of the Roman empire, it never has been denied that the mildness of its doctrines broke the violence of its fall, and softened savage ferocity.

The savage nations of the globe, the common foes of civilized society, were the fatal enemies of the Roman prosperity, and the implacable adversaries of her power and grandeur.

As this was the age in which the Saxons assumed the reins of government in Britain, we shall close this chapter with the leading particulars of that event.

A. D. 448. After the Romans had held the island of Britain under their government for almost four centuries, the exigencies of the empire obliged them to recall their legions, and resign to the inhabitants their natural rights.

* Historians have differed in their opinions concerning the degeneracy of the Britons under the Roman yoke; and the assistance which the

* Mr. Gibbon, with his usual force and elegance, has contended, that the Britons did not degenerate under the Roman government. Mr. Russell is of the contrary opinion; and if he means by degeneracy, emerging from barbarism, he is right.

Romans gave them in rebuilding the wall of Antoninus, which extended between the Friths of Forth and Clyde, has been brought as a proof of their debility. Upon the departure of the Romans the Scots and Picts invaded and laid waste the southern part of the island with fire and sword.

A. D. 449. The miserable Britons in this extremity wrote to Ætius, who then governed the empire of the west with absolute sway, that memorable letter entitled the *Groans of the Britons*, in which they complain "that the barbarians had only left them the choice of two deaths, either to perish by the sword, or be swallowed up by the waves." At that time Rome was too much employed in defending themselves against the attacks of Attila, to have leisure to assist the Britons. Numbers of them fled over to Gaul, and settled in the province of Britany; but at length, by the advice of Vortigern, they invited over the Anglo-Saxons, a German tribe, who had arrived at that degree of civilization in which the mind has acquired sufficient force for enterprize, while it seems to derive energy from the unimpaired vigour of the body. This people had spread themselves from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now Jutland, and at this period they were masters of Westphalia, Saxony, Friseland, and Holland. The Britons did not foresee that their deliverers were to become their conquerors. The Saxons soon found pretences to form an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and proceed to open hostilities against the people who had sought their protection.

Of the unhappy Britons who escaped the general slaughter of the Saxons, a part retired to the mountains of Cornwall and Wales, where they formed independent principalities, protected by their remote and inaccessible situation.

A. D. In the course of one hundred and
827. thirty-five years, these invaders formed seven kingdoms in this island, known by the name of the Saxon Heptarchy, the jealousies and dissensions of which are not worthy of a particular narration. After a variety of inferior revolutions, the seven kingdoms were united under Egbert, then king of Wessex.

The Britons had hitherto conducted all ecclesiastical matters by their own councils, but the Saxons, having received their religion through the medium of Italian monks, were taught to consider Rome as the capital of their faith. Pilgrimages to that city were accordingly represented as the most meritorious acts of devotion; and not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey; but kings themselves, resigning their Crowns, implored a safe passport to heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and exchanged the purple for the sackcloth.

As the Saxons introduced themselves with the destruction of every monument of civility, they appear to have remained a rude and uncultivated people, ignorant of letters, and unskilful in the mechanical arts. With the arts of elegance they were as little acquainted as with the pleasures of polished life. They were much addicted to intemperance, riot, and disorder, submitting

mitting unwillingly to the restraints of law or government. Their best qualities were their courage, and their love of liberty and independency. Humanity seems not to have formed a part of their character, and gallantry appears to have been unknown among them; and the value and esteem they had for women may be conjectured from one of the laws of Ethelbert, which enacts, that if any one is caught in adultery with his neighbour's wife, he shall pay him a fine, and buy him another wife.

CHAPTER V.

On the Roman Jurisprudence—The Laws of the People—The Decrees of the Senate—Code, Pandects, Novels, and Institutes of Justinian—Rights of Persons and Things—Crimes and Punishments.

THE laws observed by the Romans in the administration of public justice are acknowledged by the domestic institutions of Europe, and the code of Justinian still commands the respect or obedience of independent nations.

The twelve tables of the Decemvirs were dictated by the rigid spirit of an aristocracy; and whatever might be their merit, they obtained great reverence among the Romans, and subsisted till the age of Justinian. They had been approved by an assembly of the centuries, in which riches preponderated against numbers. The tribunes soon established it as a maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws, which he is bound to obey. By this regulation the patricians submitted to the decrees of an assembly, in which their votes were confounded with those of the meanest plebeians.

Edicts,

Edicts, the ancient prerogative of kings, was entrusted to the consuls, dictators, and prætors. The supreme judge announced by the voice of the crier, and afterwards inscribed on a white wall, the rules which he proposed to follow in the decision of doubtful cases, and the relief which his equity would afford from the rigour of ancient statutes.

During four centuries, from Adrian to Justinian, the public and private jurisprudence was moulded by the will of the sovereign, whose royal mandates were distinguished by the name of *Constitutions*.

The *grants*, *decrees*, *edicts*, and *pragmatic* sanctions of the emperors were subscribed in purple ink, and transmitted to the provinces as general laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute; but at length they were reduced into the Gregorian and Theodosian codes, and any act not included in these sacred deposits might be considered by the judge as spurious.

Among the first Romans, the slightest error in the *forms* of proceeding was sufficient to annul the *substance* of the fairest claim. In the seventh century, Roman jurisprudence was improved by the alliance of Grecian philosophy. From the stoics, the Roman civilians learned to live, to reason, and to die; but they imbibed, in some degree, the prejudices of the sect; the love of paradox, the habits of dispute, and a minute attachment to words and verbal distinctions.

The study of the civil law was of such high repute among the Romans, that Augustus and

Tiberius confined the privilege of delivering legal opinions to the senatorial, or equestrian rank. This monopoly prevailed till Adrian restored the freedom of the profession to every citizen conscious of his abilities or knowledge.

When Justinian ascended the throne, he selected the most learned civilians of the east to reform the Roman jurisprudence; to their theory was added the practice of the advocates and the experience of the magistrates; and the whole undertaking was animated by the spirit of the celebrated Tribonian, whose genius, like that of our countryman Bacon, embraced all the business and knowledge of the age. In fourteen months salutary laws were selected and adapted to the practice of the tribunals; the new *code* was honoured with the name of *Justinian*, confirmed by his own signature, and was transmitted to the magistrates of the European, the Asiatic, and afterwards the African provinces. The arduous task of extracting the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and disputes of the Roman civilians, was assigned to seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head. In three years, by their diligence, three millions of sentences and legal cases were reduced to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thousand, and were known by the name of *pandects*, or *digests*.

The *code*, the *pandects*, and the *institutes*, were declared to be the legitimate system of legal regulations; they alone were admitted in the tribunals, and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome and Constantinople. We shall

shall first examine these institutes, as they relate to the rights of *persons*.

The Roman laws assigned to the father an exclusive, absolute, and perpetual dominion over his children. In the forum, the senate, and the camp, the adult son of a Roman citizen enjoyed the public and private rights of a *person*; in his father's house he was a mere *thing*, subject to the caprice or injustice of his parent; but the paternal power was gradually limited from the accession of Numa; and the Roman father, in the reign of Augustus, was reduced from absolute dominion to the moderation of a judge. The abandoning of a new-born infant, or the murder of a child, were ranked by Constantine among capital crimes.

The husband, by the ancient Roman laws, exercised an absolute jurisdiction over his wife, even to the extent of life and death, particularly in cases of adultery, or drunkenness; but after the Punic war, the matrons of Rome obtained the benefits of a free and opulent republic. The degrading solemnities of their old nuptials were neglected; their persons were free, and their property was protected. In the matrimonial compacts of the heathen world religious rites were unnecessary. While the Christians submitted their consciences to be awed, in matrimonial concerns, by their ecclesiastical rulers, Justinian, in his code and pandects, consulted the unbelieving civilian; and his marriage laws are influenced only by the earthly motives of justice, policy, and the natural freedom of both sexes.

In the time of the republic the laws allowed that marriage might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the parties. Augustus moderated the abuse of this practice; but the Christian Princes were the first who specified the just causes of a private divorce. The successor of Justinian restored the liberty of divorce by mutual consent.

That part of the *institutes* which relate to the rights of things makes no distinction of sexes in claimants to hereditary possessions; and each degree, according to the proximity of blood and affection, succeeded to the property of a Roman citizen. By the laws of Justinian, to disinherit a son, or a daughter, it was necessary to specify the offence committed. Unless a fourth part of the father's property had been reserved, in the testament, for the use of his children, they had a right to complain that their father's understanding was impaired by sickness or age.

Among the Romans, according to the rigid maxims of the Patricians and Decemvirs, a promise, or even an oath, did not create any civil obligation, unless it was confirmed by the legal form of an agreement; this was always expressed in the form of a question and answer in this manner—"Do you promise to pay me one hundred pounds?" was the solemn interrogation of Sius. "I do promise," was the obligatory reply of Sempronius; and the friends of Sempronius, who answered for his inclination or ability, might be separately sued, at the option of Sius. The Roman word *commodatum*, in a legal sense, implied, that the borrower was obliged

to restore the individual thing which he had received for his temporary accommodation; *mutuum* implied that he should substitute the specific value of what was destined for his use and consumption. Persons of illustrious rank were confined to the profit of four per cent. interest for their money; six was fixed as the common interest, eight was allowed in merchandize, and twelve was granted to nautical insurance.

By the Roman law the robber was condemned in double, treble, and quadruple damages, according to the mode of his detection. Hasty insults, which did not amount to the fracture of a limb, had been fixed by the Decemvirs at a trifling indiscriminate fine.

The various punishments of the Romans were severe, and even inhuman. Common crimes were chastised by flagellation and servitude. The nine offences following they adjudged worthy of death.

1. Any act of treason against the state.
2. Nocturnal meetings in the city, for whatever purpose.
3. The murder of a citizen.
4. The malice of an incendiary, who himself was delivered to the flames.
5. Judicial perjury.
6. The corruption of a judge.
7. Libels and satires.
8. The nocturnal damage of a neighbour's corn.
9. Magical incantations.

But the cruelty of the twelve tables against insolvent debtors awakens our indignation. After thirty days grace, the Roman was delivered to the power of his fellow citizens; his food was twelve ounces of rice; he was bound with a chain

chain of fifteen pounds weight; and at the end of sixty days, he was delivered to a state of slavery, and the debt was frequently discharged by his death.

This severity was abolished by the Porcian and Valerian laws, which prohibited the magistrates from inflicting any capital, or even corporal punishments, on a free citizen; and unlimited impunity succeeded immoderate rigour. By the Cornelian, the Pompeian, and Julian laws, capital punishments were revived, honourable persons were beheaded, meaner citizens were hanged, burnt, or exposed to wild beasts.

The free citizens of Rome enjoyed, in all criminal cases, the invaluable privilege of being tried by their country. A vote of the thirty-five tribes could inflict a fine; but the cognizance of capital crimes was reserved by a fundamental law to the assembly of the centuries. These popular trials were less formidable to innocence than favourable to guilt. Before the age of Justinian, the Roman judges had sunk into an empty title, and justice was administered by a single magistrate, who was raised and disgraced by the will of the emperor.

A Roman accused of any capital crime might prevent the sentence of the law by voluntary exile or death. The civilians acknowledged, that he who is resolved on destruction may deride the powers of this world, and can only be restrained by the apprehension of a future state.

The civil jurisprudence, though abridged by Justinian, still continued a mysterious science
and

and a profitable trade. The dilatory and costly proceedings increased the influence of the rich, and aggravated the miseries of the poor; the expence of the pursuit often exceeded the value of the prize, and the fairest rights were abandoned by the poverty or prudence of the claimants.

CHAPTER VI.

State of Europe in the fifth Century—Foundation of the French Monarchy—Zeno and Anastasius, Emperors of the East—The Conquest of Justinian, and the Glory and Misfortunes of Belisarius.

THOSE swarms of barbarians which poured from the woods of Germany, and the frozen regions of the north, laid the foundation of political establishments, upon the falling ruins of the western empire; wherever they came, they disseminated the same manners, and nearly the same barbarous customs; ignorant of the arts of peace, they uttered their rapturous ejaculations for war and plunder to every grove and every stream, from the Rhine to the Tyber. Their kings were aged warriors, their magistrates ignorant soldiers, and their national assemblies, greedy and ferocious troops. If the Romans had not been strangely degenerated, they would either have conquered, or civilized these barbarians.

The Visigoths had seized Spain, and a great part of Gaul. The Burgundians occupied vast provinces between the Saon, the Rhone, and the Alps.

Alps. The Franks or French possessed a kind of independent republic, from the province of Tournay, to the river Somme, on the borders of Picardy, and between the Seine, the Loire, and the ocean. The Romans were only possessed of Belgic Gaul, where their general Siagrius assumed an air of royalty.

A. D. 486. Clovis, son of king Chilperic, at the age of nineteen, defeated Siagrius near Soissons, pursued the Romans, and laid by this victory the foundation of the French monarchy. The Gauls detested the Roman government, and were attached to the Christian religion; he gained them to his cause, by respecting their religion, and favouring their bishops. When he conquered the Germans near Cologne, he attributed his success to the God of his wife Clotilda, who was a Christian; and was baptised by St. Remi, bishop of Rheims. The people of Armorica, after this victory submitted to his crown.

A. D. 507. Determined to invade the possessions of Alaric, king of the Visigoths, who held the provinces between the Rhone and the Loire, Clovis wished to give the colour of religion, to his ambitious design. The battle of Vouille, near to Poitiers, crowned the wishes of the partizans of Clovis. He killed the king of the Visigoths, and seized many provinces. Theodoric could not be inactive, while he beheld the dangers with which his country was threatened. Clovis and Gondebaud united their forces, and were defeated by Theodosius, who became

came possessed of Provence, Narbon, and Aquitain. Europe regarded him as the wisest, and most powerful king of that age. After Clovis had dishonoured his reign by cruelty and perfidy, he died after the council of Orleans.

A. D. The four sons of Clovis, Thierry, 571. Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, divided the kingdoms of France among themselves. These brothers, when they had separate interests, became enemies, and brought civil wars and calamities upon their subjects.

While the empire of the west shook with the contentions of bishops and Gothic princes, Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin successively ascended the throne of Constantinople.

A. D. Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, the con- 555. queror of Clovis, was born near Vienna, the son of Theodomer by a favourite concubine; in the eighth year of his age, he was sent to Leo, emperor of the east, as a pledge of an alliance; his mind was expanded by liberal conversation, but he disdained the acquisition of science, and when he was king of Italy, he made his signature, by tracing the intervals or vacancies of a gold plate, with his pen, upon which were cut the three first letters of his name. At the age of eighteen, this fierce barbarian, returned to his native country, at the head of six thousand followers; he descended the Danube, as far as Belgrade, and returned to the camp of his father, with the spoils of a Sarmatian king, whom he had vanquished and slain. He succeeded his father, and Zeno the emperor of the east, lavished upon

upon him every favour imperial power could bestow.

A. D. After the death of Zeno, his wife
491. Ariadne bestowed her hand, and the imperial honours upon Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, whose merit was attested by the acclamations of the people "Reign as you have lived."

While Theodoric was at the court of Constantinople, he proposed to the emperor to be commissioned by him to attack Odoacer, and redeem Italy and Rome from his oppression. His proposal was accepted; the fame of the leader,

A. D. and the glory of the enterprize, soon
489. collected the Gothic swarms, diffused throughout the empire; each bold barbarian was impatient to share the

wealth and spoils of Italy; but during a march of seven hundred miles, the Goths were frequently exposed to the attacks of famine. Odoacer opposed the progress of these, by tribes of Bulgarians, Gepidæ, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the deserted province of Dacia. At length by courage and perseverance, Theodoric descended from the Julian Alps, and displayed his banners on the confines of Italy. The armies first met in the Venetian province,

A. D. and the defeat of Odoacer, left Theo-
489. doric in possession of that country, to the walls of Verona. But a second action, fought on the banks of the Adige, drove Odoacer to Ravenna, and put Theodoric in possession of Milan.

Theodoric

A. D. 492. Theodoric reigned by right of conquest, from the Alps, to the extremity of Calabria. The ambassadors of the Vandals surrendered to his claims the island of Sicily; and he was accepted as the deliverer of Rome by the senate and the people.

A. D. 494. Odoacer retired to Ravenna, and bravely defended himself for three years, but at length was compelled to surrender by the clamour of his soldiers; the hostile kings agreed to rule with equal authority; but the perfidious Theodoric assassinated Odoacer in the midst of a solemn banquet, and it was with reluctance that the emperor of the east, consented to his royalty.

The Goths under the reign of Theodoric, multiplied to the enormous number of two hundred thousand men, and these were dispersed over the face of Italy, and soon assumed the elegant dress of the natives, but still persisted to use their mother tongue: and their contempt of the Latin schools was applauded by Theodoric himself, who declared that the child, who has trembled at a rod, would never dare to look on a sword. The policy of the monarch perpetuated the separation of the natives from the invaders; the former were consigned to the gentle arts of peace, while the latter were assiduously trained to war, and exercised in arms.

The success of Theodoric awakened the jealousy of the emperor Anastasius, and ten thousand Romans, the forces of the latter, were defeated by the former, in the fields of Margus.

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In the seventh year of his reign Theodoric visited Rome, and created an officer to protect the noble works of art then remaining. Plenty and industry were so diffused in his time, that a gallon of wine was sold for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and sixpence. Though educated in the professions of Arianism, he permitted his favourite Goths, and even his mother, to retain or embrace the Athanasian faith. He knew that the peace or revolt of Italy might depend on a popular bishop, who claimed dominion in earth and heaven; and when Symmachus and Laurence disputed the chair of St. Peter, they appeared before the tribunal of this Arian monarch for his choice.

Two hundred thousand armed barbarians, seated in the heart of Italy, frequently oppressed the provincials by the sallies of native fierceness, and the religious toleration introduced by Theodoric was offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They pointed their blind rage against the defenceless Jews; their effects were pillaged, and the synagogues burnt, by the mad populace of Rome and Ravenna. The Gothic monarch ordered the community to make good the damage; and his justice so far exceeded the pretended orthodoxy of these Christians, that he ordered several who refused to pay their contributions to be whipped through the streets.

On the death of Anastasius, Justinian governed the empire of the east in the name of his uncle, Justin. A rigorous law was published at Constantinople against the Arians; and the
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same toleration was denied to Theodoric and his sect which he had granted and protected for the catholics of his dominions.

A. D. The emperor Justinian was sprung
518. from an obscure race of barbarians of Bulgaria; his elevation was facilitated by his uncle Justin, who commanded the guards at the important crisis when Anastasius expired, and ascended the throne himself with the unanimous consent of the soldiers, the clergy, and the people. His ignorance equalled that of Theodoric, and the world beheld two contemporary monarchs, destitute even of the knowledge of the alphabet. The official business of the empire was transacted by the talents of his nephew, Justinian, whom the emperor drew from the solitude of Dacia, and educated as his heir at Constantinople.

A. D. After a schism of thirty-four years,
527. the counsels of Justinian reconciled the angry spirit of the Roman pontiff; the thrones of the east were filled with catholic bishops devoted to his interest; and the clergy and monks were gained by his liberality; the people of Constantinople were gratified by the superior magnificence of his public spectacles; and the members of the senate were flattered by the assiduity with which he courted their friendship. Justin being afflicted with age and infirmities, Justinian, his nephew, was solemnly invested with the purple, in the presence of the patriarch and the senators. The aged emperor survived this ceremony about four months. We are beholden

to Procopius, the eloquent secretary of Belisarius, for the historical materials of this period, who informs us that the first act of Justinian was to divide the power he had attained with the woman whom he loved; the nuptials of Justinian and Theodora were solemnized, and the emperor placed by his side his consort, as an equal and independent sovereign.

The empress had not only been upon the public theatre as an actress, but had lived in Constantinople as a common courtesan; but it is acknowledged she was not destitute of virtues. She died in the twenty-second year of her reign by the destructive rage of a cancer.

A. D. In a civil sedition at Constantinople,
548. above thirty thousand persons perished,
the cause was partly religious zeal and partly civil discord.

In this reign the silk worms were first brought from China by missionaries, who deceived those jealous people by concealing the eggs in a hollow cane, and bringing them to Constantinople. It is said that in the succeeding reign the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the management of the insects and the manufactures of silk.

The avarice and jealousy of Justinian have both been accused in the suppression of the schools of Athens, and the consulship of Rome. The names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled; the natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, conversed in the groves of the academy, with their fellow students of the East. Doctrines which
tended

tended to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the universe, entertained the curiosity of the philosophic student; and, according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the sceptics, or decide with the stoics; sublimely speculate with Plato, or severely argue with Aristotle. The Athenian professors were paid by their disciples, according to their mutual wants and abilities; but some property of houses and lands was settled by the permission of the laws, and the legacies of deceased friends, on the philosophic chairs of Athens; and some vestige of royal bounty may be discovered under the successors of Constantine.

But the establishment of a new religion was more fatal to the schools of Athens than the arms of the Goths. The Platonists mingled with a sublime theory the practice of superstition and magic; and the edict of Justinian imposed a perpetual silence on the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and religion.

In the thirteenth year of this reign, the succession of consuls finally ceased, and that celebrated title served only to remind the Romans of their ancient freedom.

Though the Goths and Vandals had established themselves in Europe and Africa when Justinian ascended the throne, yet the Roman lawyers and statesmen asserted, that the right of dominion was in the emperor.

After the empire of the west resigned the imperial title, the princes of Constantinople aspired to deliver the subjects of the west from incursions of the barbarians.

According to the testament of Genseric, the African kingdoms had lineally descended to Hilderic, the eldest of the Vandal princes; but Gelimer had assumed the reins of government, and thrown Hilderic from a throne into a dungeon. Justinian defended the unfortunate king, encouraged by a fanatic bishop, who had declared, that God, in a vision, had commanded the delivrance of the African church.

A. D. The celebrated Belisarius was appointed to the command of this African expedition. His land and marine forces consisted of more than fifty thousand men. His fleet cast anchor at Caput Vada, about five days journey to the south of Carthage. Gelimer, ignorant of the approach of an enemy, had dispatched part of his forces to the conquest of Sardinia. Several cities yielded to Belisarius, and he advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage. In three months he made the conquest of Africa, and made Gelimer prisoner, who, at the first interview with Belisarius, burst into a fit of laughter. The foolish and undiscerning might believe the captive monarch deprived of his senses; but this unseasonable mirth would teach an intelligent observer, *that the scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought.* The general returned to Constantinople, and obtained the honour of a triumph; but of all the wealth of nations and trophies of victory which adorned the procession, the captive Gelimer was most con-

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spicuous

spicious, repeating, as he marched slowly along, the words of Solomon—*Vanity! Vanity! all is vanity!*

Soon after these events, Belisarius was sent with an army into Italy to subdue the Goths; he took Naples, and advanced towards Rome, whence the deputies of the Pope and clergy advanced to meet, and offer voluntary allegiance to the lieutenant of Justinian. He advanced without molestation along the Latin way, which skirted the foot of the mountains, and entered through the Asinarian gate; the garrison retired along the Flaminian road; Leuderis, an aged warrior, refused to accompany the fugitives, and was sent as a trophy of victory, with the keys of Rome, to the emperor Justinian.

A. D. 537. During the winter, the activity of Vitiges had collected one hundred thousand fighting Goths; and they, with their monarch at their head, advanced along the Flaminian way. The fate of Italy depended on the life of Belisarius; every bow was bent, every javelin directed against him. He defeated the Goths, and the Flaminian gate was thrown open to a real triumph. But the army of the Goths immediately passed the Tyber, and formed the siege of Rome.

Belisarius observed the changes of each instant, weighed every possible advantage, transported his person to the scenes of danger, and communicated his spirit in calm and decisive orders. The contest was fiercely maintained from the morning to the evening; the barbarians were repulsed

repulsed on all sides; thirty thousand Goths perished in the bloody action; and Belisarius, sal-
lying from the gates, reduced the hostile engines
to ashes. From this time the siege of Rome de-
generated into a blockade, which continued al-
most a year. The women, children, and slaves,
were dismissed as an useless multitude; yet these
precautions could not preserve the people, in the
last months of the siege, from the miseries of
scarcity.

Procopius, the general's secretary, was dis-
patched to collect what assistance Campania
could furnish; and Antonina herself (the wife
of Belisarius) traversed the posts of the enemy,
and returned, with the oriental succours, to the
relief of her husband, forcing her way up the
stream of the Tyber: a truce was granted for
three months. But John the sanguinary, with
two thousand horse, ravaged Picenum, where
the Goths had deposited their families and trea-
sures, spread the devastation of war from the
Appenine to the Adriatic, and seduced the fide-
lity of Vitiges' wife.

A. D. This Gothic General's last attempt
538. to storm the city was repelled by the
intrepid vigilance of Belisarius, who
obliged the Goths, pressed by famine and de-
spair, to burn their tents, and tumultuously
repass the Milesian bridges, after a siege of one
year and nine days.

A. D. After several other defeats, the
539. whole remains of the Gothic monarchy
were the city of Ravenna and a few
fortresses.

A. D. 539. Theodebert, of Austrasia, the most powerful of the Merovingian kings, was persuaded, by the gifts of the Goths, to afford them an indirect support.—Ten thousand Burgundians, without the apparent consent of their sovereign, descended from the Alps, and joined the troops of Vitiges in the siege of Milan. After an obstinate resistance, that city was reduced by famine; three hundred thousand males were reported to have perished in the massacre, and the walls of Milan were levelled with the ground.

Encouraged by this inroad, Theodebert himself appeared at the head of one hundred thousand barbarians in the plains of Italy. The provinces of Liguria and Æmilia were abandoned to the rage of the Franks, but a dysentery swept off one-third of the victorious army; and the death of the Merovingian king, by a wild bull, as he was hunting in the German forests, delivered the empire from his future enmity.

At length a peace was signed by Justinian, and left the Provinces beyond the Po, with the regal title, to the successor of Theodoric. Belisarius, displeased with this peace, resolved to sustain the danger of a generous disobedience. He declared his resolution of leading Vitiges in chains to the feet of Justinian.

The Goths were astonished at his firmness, and offered him their arms and treasures to place the hero, as their independent monarch, on the throne of Italy. The policy of Belisarius persuaded them, that he was disposed to comply with their wishes, and the gates of Ravenna were

thrown open to him, as the supposed king of Italy; and before the Goths could recover from their surprize, the city was secured beyond the danger of revolt. Vitiges was respectfully, but diligently guarded in the palace; the flower of the Gothic youth was selected for the service of the emperor; and the towns and villages of Italy, followed the submission of the capital.

The jealousy of Justinian once more recalled Belisarius, who embarked at Ravenna his spoils and captives; the emperor received, with honourable courtesy, both Vitiges and his noble comfort; and, as he conformed to the Athanasian faith, he obtained, with a rich inheritance of lands in Asia, the rank of senator and patrician. Belisarius, the conqueror of Italy, was not allowed a second triumph; yet the presence of the hero, whenever he appeared in the streets, attracted the eyes of the people. So great was the justice and discipline of this general, that during the march of the Roman armies, a path could not be traced in the neighbouring fields of corn. His chastity and sobriety were so unexceptionable, that he was never seen intoxicated with wine; and the most beautiful captives of the Gothic and Vandal race, were in vain offered to his embraces. But his fame as a hero was tarnished by the degrading tameness of the husband. Antonina was the daughter of a theatrical prostitute; and in the various situations of fortune, she became the companion, the enemy, the servant, and the favourite of the empress Theodora. In the autumn of her age, she in-

dulged herself in a scandalous attachment to a Thracian youth of the name of Theodosius. The Roman general surprised, at Carthage, the two lovers, almost naked, in a solitary chamber. "With the help of this young man," said Antonina, "I was secreting our most precious effects from the knowledge of Justinian." The pious husband consented to disbelieve his own senses, and the youth resumed his garments. At Syracuse, Belisarius was, by the information of a female attendant, convinced of his wife's infidelity. Theodosius escaped from the justice of the injured husband by a hasty flight; but the tears of Antonina assuaged the grief of the credulous hero; and he abandoned to the revenge of a guilty woman those friends who had informed him of her crimes. Her sanguinary advice hastened the execution of an officer named Constantius, because he once said, that "he would sooner have punished the adulteress than the boy."

Her lover retired to Ephesus, shaved his head, and took refuge in the sanctuary of a monastic life, and he never returned to Constantinople till Belisarius went forward to the Persian war.

In the succeeding campaign, Belisarius saved the East; but he offended the empress Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself. On a rumour of the death of Justinian, the Roman general had spoken the free language of a citizen and a soldier. He was immediately recalled; but that disgrace which for the same crime overwhelmed

whelmed his colleague, Buzes, was alleviated in Belisarius by the dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife. A fine of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling was levied on his fortunes ; and with the office of master of the royal stables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war.

CHAPTER VII.

State of the Barbarians—Establishment of the Lombards on the Danube—Of the Sclavonians—Origin of the Turks—Chosroes, first King of Persia, wages War with the Romans—The Colchian War.

IN the time of Justinian, the forces of the empire consisted only of one hundred and fifty thousand men. These were thinly scattered over sea and land. In a time of prosperity, the forces had been six hundred and forty-five thousand.

When the national spirit of the Romans began to decline, when religious broils and the inroads of Barbarians had almost suppressed real virtue and true patriotism, the generals of the empire instead of promoting the public service, laboured only to prevent the success, or to fully the reputation of their colleagues. Military honour was almost extinct; and the flame of former heroes seemed confined alone to the person of Belisarius and Narses. Antioch was destroyed by the Persians, and Justinian trembled in his palace for the safety of his capital, while his lieutenant Belisarius achieved the conquests of Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna.

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The Goths, to oppose the arms of Belisarius, had relinquished the barrier of the upper Danube, and evacuated Pannonia and Noricum. The Gepidæ, since the death of Attila, had possessed the plains of Upper Hungary and the Transylvanian hills. The emperor, instead of assuming himself the protection of his subjects, invited a strange people to avenge the insult of the invaders.

The Lombards (so called from their long beards) were a barbarous people, discovered in the time of Augustus and Trajan, between the Elbe and the Oder. The smallness of their number was recruited by the adoption of the bravest of their slaves; and without allies, they defended their martial independence, and gradually descended towards the south and the Danube; and also preserved, during four hundred years, their ancient valour and ferocious manners.

The Heruli, who inhabited the southern parts of Poland, were defeated by these more hardy barbarians, who, after a contest of thirty years, extirpated the Gepidæ. Forty thousand of the conquering Lombards perished in the decisive battle, which displayed the character of Albain, the future conqueror of Italy.

The two great tribes, who, in the reign of Justinian, wandered over the plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, were distinguished by the name of Bulgarians and Sclavonians.

The former, who touched the Euxine and the Lake Mæotis, derived from the Huns their name and descent, their arms, and their man-

ners; and were divided into two hostile parties, who pursued each other with implacable hatred; they were both equally attracted by Roman wealth, and their rapid marches could only be stopped by the Baltic sea, and the extreme cold and poverty of the north. The form of the Slavonians differed from the swarthy Tartars, and they somewhat resembled the lofty stature and fair complexion of the Germans. Their huts were hastily constructed of rough timber, and erected in the depth of forests, or on the banks of rivers. The fertility of the soil, rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Slavonians; their sheep and horned cattle were large and numerous; the fields, which they sowed with millet, afforded them a coarse but wholesome food; and even in their savage state, they are represented as possessing the virtues of patience, chastity, and hospitality. They adored, as the supreme God, the invisible master of the thunder; but they disdained to obey either prince or magistrate; and their passions were too headstrong to compose any system of equal law or general defence. Each tribe existed as a separate and independent republic; they fought on foot, almost naked; their weapons of defence were a bow, a quiver of small poisoned arrows, and a rope, which they dexterously threw from a distance, and entangled their enemy in a running noose.

The level country of Moldavia and Wallachia was occupied by a tribe of the Slavonians, distinguished by the appellation of Antes; against these

these Justinian erected the fortifications of the Lower Danube, and laboured to secure their alliance, because they were seated in the direct channel of northern inundation. The usual annual incursions were almost effaced by the invasion of the Bulgarians, in the year and about the time that Ravenna surrendered: they spread from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian gulf, and repassed the Danube with the miserable train of one hundred and twenty thousand captives. They afterwards broke the wall of the Thracian Chersonesus, and returned with the spoils of Asia; another party penetrated from the straits of Thermopylæ to the isthmus of Corinth, and involved in destruction what yet remained of Grecian magnificence. Three thousand Sclavonians, divided into three bands, passed the Danube and the Hebrus, vanquished the Roman generals who opposed their progress, and plundered with impunity the cities of Illyricum and Thrace. So fatal were their devastations, that the historian of Justinian asserts, that these inroads annually consumed two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire.

Whilst Europe was thus deluged by the inroads of barbarians, the *Turks*, a new name and nation, first became noticed in the annals of mankind. This martial people inhabited the mountains of Altai, in the centre of Asia. They were accustomed to forge into arms the minerals these hills contained, for the service of their master, the Khan of the Geougen.

A. D. 545. The Turkish nation had for ages an annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a smith's hammer was successively handled by the prince and his nobles. Bertezena first exhorted his countrymen to use the weapons they prepared for their masters, as the instruments of freedom and victory; they signalized themselves in several combats against the neighbouring tribes; but when their leader presumed to ask in marriage the daughter of the great Khan, the demand was contemptuously rejected. Their chief afterwards made an alliance with a princess of China, and totally defeated the Geougen nation; by these means the powerful empire of the Turks was established in Tartary. But though they reigned over the north, they remained faithfully attached to the mountains of Altai, and disdained the luxury of China; in their religion, they preserved the simple practice of their ancestors. Though they acknowledged the supreme Deity, they expressed their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth. Their laws were severe and impartial; theft was punished by tenfold restitution; adultery, treachery, and murder, with death; but no punishment was too severe for cowardice. The northern limits of the Turkish conquests extended as far as Kamschatka; on the south they conquered the white Huns; on the west they passed the Lake Mæotis when frozen, and besieged the Roman city of Bosphorus; and to the east they frequently made inroads into China.

China. This extent of empire compelled the Turkish monarch to divide his dominions among three princes of his blood, who were soon enervated by luxury, and the vanquished nations resumed their independence, and the power of the Turks was limited to a period of two hundred years.

A. D. The nation of the Ogors, on the banks of the Til, was subdued by the 558. Turks; their Khan, with three hundred thousand of his followers, was slain in battle; about twenty thousand survivors, preferring exile to servitude, followed the banks of the Volga, and came to the foot of Mount Caucasus, where they first heard of the splendor and weakness of the Roman empire. Their ambassador came by the Euxine sea to Constantinople, and entered into an alliance with Justinian. Valentin, one of the emperor's guards, returned with the ambassador to the camp at the foot of Mount Caucasus; he easily persuaded this people (who were called Avars) by splendid presents and promises, to invade the enemies of Rome; and in less than ten years, these fugitives had reduced the Bulgarian and Sclavonian tribes, and pitched their camp on the Danube and the Elbe. Their chief affected to cultivate the friendship of the emperor; but the secret and hostile designs of this people were made known to the imperial court by the virtue or treachery of one of their tribes. But though these pretended Avars had retired to such a distance from their Turkish conquerors, the great Khan had traced their steps, and

and sent an ambassador to the successor of Constantine, and requested that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives. The emperor renounced the Avars, and his ratification of a treaty with the Turks was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of Mount Altai.

In the time of Tiberius, the alliance was renewed between the Turks and the Romans.

Cabodes, the Persian monarch, who had conquered Amida, had experienced the vicissitudes of fortune. A prisoner in the hands of his subjects, an exile among the enemies of Persia, his last years were embittered by the disorders of his people, and the fanaticism of Mazdak, who asserted the community of women, and the equality of mankind.

Cabades had recovered his liberty by prostituting the honour of his wife, and regained his kingdom by the aid of the barbarians, who had slain his father. His partiality for his third son, Chosroes, induced him to alter by his will the customary order of succession, and wished him to be adopted by Justin. The young Prince had advanced as far as the Tigris, in his way to Constantinople, for that purpose, but was stopped by the advice of Proches.

When Chosroes ascended the throne of Persia, upon the death of his father, he found that kingdom involved in a war with the emperor of Constantinople. The policy of Justinian consented to purchase a peace at the price of eleven thousand pounds of gold; the gates of Caucasus were assumed by the Persian monarch, and it was

was stipulated, that Dara should never be made the residence of the general of the east. The Persian king heard with astonishment, envy, and fear, that Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced in three rapid campaigns by the arms of Belisarius. The Persians ravaged the province of Syria, and Justinian in revenge invited the distant nations of Ethiopia and Scythia to attack the dominions of the Persians.

About this time the Goths and Armenians implored the protection of Chosroes, in these effectual and weighty terms.

“ The ambitious and faithless Justinian aspires
“ to be the master of the world. Has he not
“ violated the privileges of Armenia, the independence of Colchos, and the wild liberty of
“ the Tzanian mountains ; has he not usurped
“ with equal avidity the city of Bosphorus on
“ the frozen Mæotis, and the vale of the palm
“ trees on the shores of the Red Seas.

“ The Moors, the Vandals, and the Goths,
“ have been successively oppressed, and each nation has calmly remained spectators of each
“ other’s ruin. Embrace, O King ! this favourable moment, the east is left without defence, while the armies of Justinian and his
“ renowned General, are detained in the distant
“ region of the west. If you hesitate and delay,
“ Belisarius will soon return from the Tyber to
“ the Tygris, and Persia may enjoy the wretched consolation of being the last destroyed.”
Chosroes determined in person to support the cause of the supplicants.

At

At the head of his army, which had been assembled in the plains of Babylon, he burst the gates of Dara: His rapid cavalry pressed forward into the heart of Syria, while the feeble enemy vanished at his approach, and disappointed him of the honour of victory. Hierapolis, Aleppo, Apamea, and Cholcis, were successively besieged. They redeemed their safety by a ransom of gold and silver; and their new master enforced, without observing, the terms of capitulation. The Persian forces mounted with scaling ladders the walls of the new Theopolis, and the Roman mercenaries fled through the opposite gate. The city was delivered to the flames, though some small part was preserved by the change of the wind, and the avarice of the victor. The haughty Persian reviewed the conquered places, and, after bathing in the sea, offered a sacrifice to the sun. With the spoil of Syria he slowly moved to the Euphrates, passed that river, and founded, near Ctesiphon, a city, to perpetuate the joint names of Chosroes and Antioch. Palestine, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem next enflamed his desires, and Constantinople was not too remote for his ambitious designs.

To disappoint these hopes of the Persian despot, Belisarius, the conqueror of Italy, was recalled to the defence of the east. He encamped beyond the Euphrates, within six miles of Nisibis, while Chosroes pursued his designs on the coast of the Euxine. After reducing the fortress of Sifan-rane, the Roman general was recalled, but the dangers of the ensuing spring restored him to confidence

confidence and command, and the hero was dispatched to repel the invasion of Syria. After he had restrained Chosroes from advancing towards Palestine, and obliged him to repass the Euphrates, he was recalled, a second time, from the Persian to the Italian war, which displayed the extent of his genius. Fifteen generals who succeeded him were defeated by four thousand Persians, as they led through the mountains of Armenia an army of thirty thousand Romans. The eastern frontier was protected by a tacit agreement between the two sovereigns, and the arms of the Persian monarch were confined to the Colchian or Lazic wars.

The natives of Mingrelia, or Colchians, have ever been famous for a bold and intrepid spirit. In the host of Xerxes they served on foot, but in their own country the use of cavalry has more generally prevailed. The meanest of the peasants disdains to walk; each noble is possessed, perhaps, of two hundred horses, and about five thousand are said to belong to the Prince of Mingrelia. The report of the population of Mingrelia almost exceeds credibility; it is said that it now contains four millions of inhabitants. These people boast that their ancestors checked the victories of Sesostris: Without any memorable effort they sunk under the arms of Cyrus, and that their territory was added by Mithridates to the wide circle of his dominions. Formerly the Romans advanced to the banks of Phasir; but the senate disdained the useless conquest, and the family of a Greek rhetorician, of the name
of

of Polemo, was permitted to reign in Colchos, from the time of Mark Antony to that of Nero.

The Persians, in their endeavours to subdue the Colchians, were repulsed, with the loss of ten thousand of their bravest soldiers, and they were convinced that was impossible to reduce a distant country, against the efforts of its inhabitants. With these convictions they relinquished the Colchian war.

The fidelity of Gubazes, the Roman general, had sustained the most rigorous trials; he had disdained the temptations of the Persian court; but he finally presumed to complain of the lieutenants of Justinian, who spared his enemies and trampled on his allies. The truth was considered as a libel, and Gubazes, by an ambiguous order from the court of Justinian, was murdered, in the midst of a friendly interview.

Justinian and Chosroes, in their declining age, concluded a treaty, which for fifty years gave repose to their exhausted frontiers; but the Persian monarch, when he renounced the claim to the sovereignty of Colchos, extorted from the Romans the annual payment of thirty thousand pieces of gold.

CHAPTER VIII.

Rebellions of Africa—Restoration of the Gothic Kingdom by Totila—Loss and Recovery of Rome—Final Conquest of Italy by Narses—Extinction of the Ostrogoths—Death of Belisarius and of Justinian.

THOUGH Justinian was indifferent to the complaints of an oppressed people, he was awakened by the clamours of military discontent. Many of the Roman soldiers had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals, and claimed, by right of conquest and inheritance, the estates which Genseric had assigned to his victorious troops. The mutiny was inflamed by the Heruli, who had imbibed the doctrines of the Arian sect, and beheld with regret, the triumph of the orthodox church. Four hundred Vandals, destined by Belisarius for the service of the east, seized the vessels they were embarked in, ran ashore on a desert coast of Africa, and erected the standard of independence on mount Aurafius. A furious sedition at the same time raged throughout Carthage: the insurgents, to the number of eight thousand, assembled in the field of Bulla, and elected as their chief, Stozza, a private

vate soldier, of commanding eloquence and daring courage. He was vanquished by Belisarius, having seduced a Roman army, whose chiefs, who had trusted to his promises, were massacred by his order, and when he had exhausted every resource of force or perfidy, he retired to the wilds of Mauritania, obtained the daughter of a barbarian prince, and eluded the pursuit of his enemies by the report of his death. But in another commotion he appeared again in arms at the gates of Carthage; and when he fell in single combat, he rejoiced that his javelin had reached the heart of his antagonist.

The example of Stoza inflamed the ambition of Gontharis, who, with the Moors, excited a sedition of the guards, and for thirty days ruled Carthage with absolute authority. At the end of that time he was stabbed at a public feast, and Carthage was again restored to the Roman empire.

The anger of the Moors was again excited by the perfidy of Sergius the nephew of Solomon, who had massacred at his table fourscore deputies of a Moorish tribe. The indignant Moors vindicated their honour in the field of Tebeste, by the death of Solomon, and the total loss of his army. Their inroads curtailed the Roman dominion, the country was almost converted into a desert, and Procopius asserts that five millions of Africans were consumed by the wars and government of Justinian.

By the victories of Belisarius the Goths had lost their king, their capital, their provinces, and

two

two hundred thousand of their bravest countrymen; but the city of Pavia was still defended by a thousand valiant Goths; these had chosen for their leader Totila, a courageous youth, who undertook the restoration of the kingdom of Italy.

A. D.

541.

Near Farenza, twenty thousand Romans were defeated by Totila, who passed the Po, traversed the Apennines, and marched through the heart of Italy, to form the siege of Naples.

The forces which the emperor dispatched to the relief of that city were intercepted by Totila, and Naples was compelled to surrender to the Goths, who, after reducing Luconia, Apulia, and Calabria, advanced to Tivoli, within twenty miles of Rome, and exhorted the senate and people to compare the miseries of imperial tyranny with the blessings of the Gothic reign.

Totila was chaste and temperate, and his clemency was equally admired by his friends and enemies. He destroyed the fortifications of the towns he had taken, to save the people from the calamities of a future siege, and his discipline protected the husbandman from the injuries of war. The Roman captives were tempted to enlist into his armies; and from the one thousand which he collected at Pavia, he formed a new people in his camp under the appellation of Goths.

A. D.

544.

The conduct of this war against the Goths was imposed on Belisarius, who, at the head of a small band, entered the port of Ravenna, and dispatched orders to the subordinate

subordinate cities; but he soon discovered that the affections of the Italians were alienated from the empire, and that he was sent to remain an helpless spectator of the glory of a young barbarian. He informed Justinian of the exhausted state of the country, and the difficulties which surrounded him. "If the war," said he, "would be achieved by the presence of Belisarius alone, your wishes are satisfied, Belisarius is in the midst of Italy; but, if you desire to conquer, you must send me men and money; without a military force the title of general is an empty name."

This message of Belisarius was neglected; and the Roman general repassed the Adriatic, and waited at Dyrrachium for the arrival of troops which slowly assembled; even these were inadequate to the deliverance of Rome. The Appian way was covered with the Barbarians; Belisarius declined a battle, and passed by sea from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tyber.

Bessas, a veteran chief, of Gothic extraction, defended the walls of Rome, with three thousand soldiers, against the attack of Totila. The city had already suffered by famine, when the hopes of the people were revived by the news of the arrival of Belisarius at the Port. That intrepid general, while his cavalry advanced along the public road to awe the enemy, embarked his infantry and provisions in large boats, and burst the large chain, and destroyed the barrier which Totila had erected to intercept the navigation of the Tyber. The triumphant Romans shouted victory,

tory, and Rome had been preserved, if the wisdom of Belisarius had not been defeated by the misconduct of his officers. He had previously commanded Bessas to sally from the city, and had fixed his lieutenant Isaac to the Port; but Bessas, through avarice, delayed to leave the city, and Isaac fell into the hands of the enemy. Upon the news of this defeat Belisarius paused, and reluctantly sounded a retreat, to save the only harbour he possessed on the Tuscan coast. The agitation of his mind was attended by a dangerous fever, and Rome was left, without support, to the mercy or indignation of Totila.

A. D. 546. Famine had weakened the soldiers within the city; four centinels betrayed the Asinarian gate to the Gothic king. Bessas and his troops escaped by flight, and the principal inhabitants accompanied their governor. At the humble prayer of Pelagius, the archdeacon, the lives of the Romans were spared, and the chastity of the women preserved from the passions of the soldiers; but the most precious spoils of Rome were preserved for the Gothic treasury, and the rest was abandoned to the free pillage of the soldiers. One third of the city walls was thrown down by the stern command of Totila; and the prudent remonstrance of Belisarius alone, who warned the Gothic monarch not to sully his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead, and delight of the living, averted the fatal decree of the barbarian, "that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle." Totila, after leaving an army

army of observation near the city, marched into Lucania and Apulia, and occupied one of the camps of Hannibal, on the summit of Mount Garganus.

A. D.

547.

On the departure of Totila Belisarius sallied from the port, at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, entered the ancient city, and erected his standard on the capitol. The greatest part of his troops were summoned to his support, the inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country, the walls were restored with rude materials, and the keys of Rome were sent a second time to Justinian.

At the expiration of twenty-five days the Gothic king returned, eager for revenge, but his troops, in three general assaults, were repulsed by the firmness and skill of Belisarius; and the fame of Totila sunk, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. The emperor, instead of seconding the abilities of Belisarius, commanded him to march to suppress the revolt of Luconia; without treasure or troops he was abandoned to an inglorious warfare, till Antonina his wife obtained, after the death of the empress, permission for his return.

On the departure of Belisarius, Totila once more formed the siege of Rome, and the inhabitants were again betrayed by the venality of some Isaurians. The gate of St. Paul was opened, the Barbarians poured into the city, and the Roman garrison was intercepted before they could reach the harbour of Centumcellæ. But Totila,

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no longer entertained a wish of destroying the edifices of Rome, which he now respected as the seat of his Gothic kingdom. From Rome he extended his conquests over Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; and the sea-coast of Greece was ravaged by a fleet of three hundred gallies. Amidst these victories Totila was desirous of peace, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the service of the empire.

Justinian was again aroused to the conquest of Italy by the adjurations of Pope Vigilius. Sicily was reduced by Artaban, and the Gothic navy was defeated near the coast of the Adriatic. Upon the death of Germanus, the emperor's nephew, who had commanded for a little time, Narses, the eunuch, who had been much in the palace, was chosen to atchieve the conquest of Italy, which Belisarius, the first of Roman generals, had left imperfect. The well-known liberality of this eunuch attracted the subjects and allies of the empire. The Lombards, the Heruli, the Huns, and the Persians, crowded to his banner; with a motley army of these nations, joined to the fragments of the Italian army, Narses proceeded to Rimini to meet the insulting enemy.

Totila, suspicious of the fidelity of his subjects, determined to risk the Gothic kingdom on a decisive battle. The two armies approached each other near Tagina. The haughty message of Narses was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon; the answer of the Gothic king declared his resolution to die or conquer.

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The eunuch rode along the lines, encouraging his men, by exposing to their view gold chains and collars, the rewards of military virtue.

At the distance of two bow-shots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful suspense; Narfes awaited the charge, and Totila delayed it till he had received his last succours of two thousand Goths. As soon as these arrived, the Gothic king retired to his tent, laid his rich armour aside for that of a common soldier, and gave the signal of battle. The Gothic cavalry was astonished, pressed, and broken by the generous emulation of the Romans and their barbarian allies; six thousand of the Goths fell on the field. Totila, with five attendants, was overtaken by Asbad, of the race of the Gepidæ. "Spare the King of Italy," cried the loyal voice, and Asbad struck his lance through the body of Totila.

A. D. 552. The faithful Goths carried their dying monarch seven miles from the scene of action, and his last hours were not embittered by the presence of an enemy. His death announced victory to the Romans, and his bloody robe was presented to Justinian by the messengers of triumph.

The victorious eunuch, after dismissing the Lombards, pursued his march through Tuscany, and encompassed with his army the walls of Rome. This city could not long withstand his ardour, and Justinian once more received the keys of the ancient capital, which, under his

his reign, had been five times taken and recovered. But the Goths, in their retreat from that venerable city, satiated their revenge by the massacre of three hundred noble youths, their hostages; the fortresses round Campania were stained with patrician blood; and the very existence of the Roman senate was extinguished by the implacable fury of the barbarians.

The Goths retired beyond the Po, and Narfes fought and defeated them on the banks of the Sarnus, the major part of the survivors agreed to reside in Italy as the subjects of Justinian.

While the Romans were pressing the siege of Lucca, Italy was overwhelmed by a new deluge of barbarians. Theodebald, a feeble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned over the Franks. Seventy-five thousand Germans descended from the Rhætian Alps into the plains of Milan; they surprized the negligent vanguard of the Roman army stationed near the Po; the troops were instantly routed, and their leader, Fulcaris, rejecting flight, declared that death was less terrible than the angry countenance of Narfes. The eunuch sallied from Rimini, and destroyed two thousand Franks. The strength of the German armies was soon destroyed by intemperance and disease.

In the next spring Buccelin, at the head of the Franks and Alemanni, encamped near the river Vulturhus, where he and the greater part of his army perished on the field of battle, or in the water of that river; and in the procession of Narfes, Rome, for the last time, beheld the

semblance of a triumph. That ancient capital was soon reduced to the second rank, and the exarchs of Ravenna represented the emperor in Italy.

A. D. 559. The declining years of Belisarius were crowned by a last victory, which saved the emperor and the capital. In the thirty-second winter of Justinian's reign, Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians over the frozen Danube; the savage chief spread his troops over Macedonia and Thrace, and with seven thousand horse advanced towards Constantinople. The walls of that city had lately been shaken by an earthquake; the forces of the emperor were employed on the distant frontiers; Justinian trembled in his palace; and the only hope of the people was in the veteran Belisarius. Zabergan was routed by that celebrated general, and though his destruction was forbidden by Justinian, he hastened to repass the Danube.

A. D. 561. Two years afterwards, a dark conspiracy was detected, in which Marcellus and Sergius were named; the former preferred a voluntary death; but Sergius was dragged from a sanctuary; and, tempted by the hopes of safety, accused two officers of the household of Belisarius. This veteran soldier appeared before the council with more indignation than fear; but the emperor, after forty years service, had prejudged his guilt. His fortune was sequestered, and for several months he was a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknowledged; and his death, hastened

tened probably by indignation, about eight months afterwards, delivered him from the ingratitude of his master. Such was the fate of Belisarius!—John Fzetzes, a monk of the twelfth century, informs us, that he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced to beg his bread.

Justinian died eight months after the death of Belisarius, in the eighty-third year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign.

Though his fame is eclipsed by the superior lustre of his general, yet the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. Even his enemies confess that he was chaste, temperate, vigilant, and studious.

But the age in which he reigned was unfortunate; the people were oppressed and discontented; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death.

 C H A P. IX.

Reign of the younger Justin—Conquest of Italy by the Lombards—Reign of Tiberius—State of Italy under the Lombards—Character of Pope Gregory the First.

A. D. 565. **O**N the death of Justinian, Justin, his nephew, the son of Vigilantia, was invested with the imperial garments; four youths exalted him on a shield, to receive the adoration of his subjects; and the choice of the senate was sanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who placed the diadem on the head of an orthodox prince.

The Avars, after being disappointed in an embassy to the new emperor, entered into an alliance with the Lombards, whose king, Alboin, had killed the son of Turisund, king of the Gepidæ. When Alboin, with forty of his companions, went to the court of the Gepidæ to demand the investment with arms (according to the custom of the Lombards, who required that ceremony to be performed by a foreign and royal hand) Cunimund, the surviving son, was provoked by fraternal affection to the desire of vengeance, and said, that “the Lombards resemble
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“ in figure and smell the mares of our Sarmatian plains.” One of the Lombards replied, “ You have felt how strongly they kick. Visit the plain of Asfeld, and seek for the bones of thy brother; they are mingled with those of the vilest animals.” A tumult was raised, but the weeping monarch saved the life of his guest, and dismissed him with the solemn rites of investiture. But the beauty of Rosamond, the daughter of Cunimund, had inflamed the desires of Alboin; the arts of persuasion were tried without success, and the impatient lover obtained the object of his passion by force and stratagem. The insult was resented; the Gepidæ were supported by a Roman army; the Lombards yielded to their united force; and Alboin, after having in vain offered marriage, reluctantly relinquished his beauteous prey. He afterwards attacked the Gepidæ out of revenge, Cunimund, the father of the ravished fair one, was killed, and his skull formed into a cup by the savage conqueror. The empire of the Chagans was established in Dacia; the spoil was divided; and the fair Rosamond was persuaded by Alboin to accept the hand of her triumphant lover.

A. D. The king of the Lombards then
567. turned his eyes from the banks of the
 Danube to those of the Po and the
Tyber. The Bulgarians, Sarmatians, Bava-
rians, and Saxons, enlarged the armies of Al-
boin; and the Lombards resigned their lands to
the Avars, on a solemn promise, that, if they

failed in the conquest of Italy, they should be reinstated in their former possessions.

Longinus, a new exarch, was appointed to succeed Narses, the eunuch, who had conquered Italy, and who, by the insulting mandate of the empress Sophia was commanded "to leave to
" *men* the exercise of arms, and return to his
" proper station among the maidens of the palace, where a distaff should be again placed in
" the hand of the eunuch." The indignant hero replied, "I will spin her such a thread as
" she shall not easily unravel." A reconciliation took place between Narses and the court of Constantinople, but his death prevented him from repairing the errors he had committed.

The adventurous Alboin descended from the Julian Alps into the fruitful plains, on which his success bestowed the new and permanent appellation of *Lombardy*.

A. D. In five months after he departed
568. from Panonia he invested Milan.
From the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the regions of Italy submitted to the barbarian without a siege or a battle. He assumed the character of a lawful monarch; and the helpless Longinus informed the emperor of the loss of his provinces and cities. Pavia resisted the arms of Alboin by a siege of three years, when it was reduced by famine; the conqueror determined to punish the obstinacy of the inhabitants by a general massacre; as he entered the city, his horse stumbled and fell, this accident induced the conqueror to
relent;

relent; and Pavia was respected for several ages as the capital of Italy.

Before Alboin could regulate his conquests, he fell a victim to female revenge. In the palace of Verona, at a feast of intemperance, he called for the skull of Cunimund, the horrid ornament of his table. After the cup of victory had been exhausted by the Lombard chiefs, "Fill it again with wine," said the inhuman conqueror, "carry it to the queen, and request, in my name, that she will drink and rejoice with the skull of her father." The indignant Rosamond obeyed; but she nourished from that moment an insatiate desire of vengeance; she had already prostituted her charms to Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer; she told him her intention, and required his assistance. Her gallant communicated the conspiracy to Peredeus, one of the bravest champions of the Lombards, who rejected the crime, but promised to keep the secret. The queen, to engage this warrior in her guilt, supplied, in the dark, the place of one of her female attendants, who was beloved by him; and after the moment of transport, informed the astonished Peredeus, that his own death, or that of Alboin, must be the consequence of the treasonable adultery.

A. D. In this alternative, he chose rather
573. to become the accomplice than the
victim of Rosamond. Alboin, oppressed with wine, was betrayed by his faithless spouse; he was stabbed by the spears of the as-

sassins ; and the daughter of Cunimund satiated her enmity by the murder of her husband.

The triumph of Rosamond was of short duration ; the Lombard chiefs compelled her to abdicate the transient power she had assumed. She escaped to Ravenna, with her infant daughter and her two lovers. Longinus, the imperial general, beheld with delight the charms of Rosamond ; she listened to his passion ; and as Hel-michis came from the bath, she gave him poison : the taste of the baneful potion convinced him that it was such. He pointed his dagger to the breast of Rosamond, and compelled her to swallow the remainder of the deadly cup.

Her daughter was embarked, with Peredeus, to Constantinople ; and the free suffrage of the Lombards raised Clepho to the throne as the successor of Alboin. Before the end of eighteen months, Clepho was stabbed by a domestic ; and during ten years, the minority of his son Autharis, Italy was divided by a ducal aristocracy of thirty tyrants.

A. D. The annals of the second Justin are marked with disgrace abroad, and misery at home. The Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. The capital and the provinces were exhausted by the venality of the magistrates and the injustice of the governors. The sentiments of Justin were pure and benevolent ; but his faculties were impaired by disease, and he was confined to his palace a stranger to the complaints of his people.

His

His only son had died in his infancy: his daughter was married to Raduarius, the superintendant of the palace; and Justin was accustomed to behold with jealousy and hatred his brothers and cousins. Tiberius, the faithful captain of his guards, was appointed his successor. The speech which Justin made upon that public occasion was ascribed to the inspiration of the Deity; he concluded with, "Love the people like yourself; cultivate the affections, maintain the discipline of the army; protect the fortunes of the rich, and relieve the necessities of the poor."

A. D. But the Romans of the East were
582. not long to enjoy the blessings of his reign; in less than four years after the death of Justin, he sunk into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to bestow the diadem on the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. He resigned his empire and his daughter to Maurice, who ascended the throne at the age of forty-three years, and reigned above twenty years over the east and over himself. He persuaded Childebert, the grandson of Clovis, to invade Italy.

The victorious Autharis asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy. That country, during a period of two hundred years, was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. The full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power, were united in eighteen successive exarchs. Their immediate jurisdiction extended

over the modern Romagna, the marshes of Ferrara and Commachio, five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and between the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Appenine. The supremacy of the exarch was acknowledged by the three subordinate provinces of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples; and the three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire; but Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes; and Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the eastern empire. The remainder of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austria and Burgundy.

The dress of the ancient Lombards consisted of loose linen garments; their legs and feet were clothed in long hose and open sandals; and even in the tranquility of peace, a sword was constantly girded to their sides; their heads were shaven behind, but their hair before hung over their eyes and mouth, and a long beard represented the name and character of the nation. Yet this strange apparel, and horrid aspect, often concealed a gentle and generous disposition; and as soon as the rage of battle had subsided, the captives and subjects were frequently surprised by the humanity of the victor. The vices of the Lombards were the effects of passion, of ignorance, of intoxication; their virtues were the uncultivated, spontaneous growth of nature.

Autharis

Autharis, their monarch, was married to Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald, the king of Bavaria. The Italian enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the western empire.

Rome, about the close of the sixth century, had reached the lowest period of her depression. The hostile approach of the Lombards was often felt. The distressed inhabitants opened, or shut the gates with a trembling hand: they beheld from the walls the flames of their houses; and heard the lamentations of their brethren, who were dragged into distant slavery beyond the sea and mountains. The capital of the world no longer attracted the curiosity and ambition of nations; but if chance or necessity directed the steps of a wandering stranger, he contemplated with horror the vacancy and solitude of the city. The edifices of Rome were exposed to ruin and decay; the mouldering fabrics were easily overthrown by inundations, tempests, and earthquakes; and Rome, like Thebes, Babylon, or Carthage, might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion.

A. D. Gregory the first, under the reign
590. of Maurice, was created Pope. His mild eloquence and seasonable gifts averted the sword of the barbarians, suspended over Rome.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Persians—Death of Maurice—Elevation of Heraclius—Siege of Constantinople by the Persians and Avars.

THE subjects of the Eastern empire were now generally distinguished by the name of Greeks.

After several hostile contentions with the Court of Constantinople, Nushirvin, the Persian monarch, passed the Euphrates, and was defeated by the imperial army near the town of Melitene; and, regardless of his troops, swam the Euphrates on the back of an elephant. The Roman general, Justinian, erected his standard on the banks of the Araxes. On the return of spring, he descended from the plains of Assyria, and extended his devastations within sight of the palace of Nushirvin, who sunk beneath disgrace, and was succeeded by his son Hormouz, who accepted the perfidious aid of the great Khan, against the frequent inroads of the Romans. Four hundred thousand Turks, with the Khan at their head, passed the river Oxus.

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A. D. 590. As these barbarians marched towards the mountains of Hyranja, they entered into a confederacy with the Romans; and the sovereignty of the house of Sasan must have been extinguished, had it not been prevented by the valour of the gigantic Varanes, who, with twelve thousand soldiers, occupied the steep and narrow descent of the Hyrcanian rock, the only passage into the plains of Media, and, from the commanding heights, overwhelmed with darts and stones the myriads of the Turkish host; the Khan and his son perished amidst the crowd; and the miserable fugitives were abandoned to the revenge of an injured people.

In Europe, by the departure of the Lombards, and the ruin of the Gepidæ, the dominion of the Avars was extended from the foot of the Alps to the sea-coast of the Euxine. Baian, their chagan, occupied the rustic palace of Attila, and appears to have imitated his policy. Hungary, Poland, and Prussia, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Oder, were added to the empire of the chagan.

A. D. 595. The army beyond the Danube had been commanded to establish their winter quarters in the hostile country of the Avars; their private murmurs were soon converted into open rage; they pronounced Maurice unfit to reign; and under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, they returned by hasty marches into the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

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In a nocturnal tumult, the lawless city was abandoned to every species of rapine and licentiousness. The unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, in a small boat escaped to the church of St. Autonomius, near Chalcedon, and from thence urged his son Theodosius to implore the friendship of the Persian Monarch.

On his abdication, Constantinople opened her gates to Phocas, who dispatched the minister of death to Chalcedon; they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary, murdered his five sons before his face, while the parent at each stroke found strength to repeat the pious ejaculation, "Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgments are righteous." And so rigid was his attachment to justice, that when a nurse presented her own child in the place of a royal infant, he revealed the falsehood, and prevented the execution of the noble intention. The tragic scene was closed by the execution of the emperor himself, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the sixty-third of his age. Young Theodosius was beheaded, by order of the tyrant, at Nice, in his way to the Persian court.

But the usurper, Phocas, did not long survive these acts of cruelty, for Heraclius, with the assistance of the people, and even the guards, seized the tyrant, and reproached him with his crimes. "Wilt *thou* govern better?" were the last words of Phocas. After suffering each variety of insult and torture, his head was separated from

from his body, and the trunk was cast into the flames.

A. D. 610. Heraclius ascended the throne by the consent of the clergy, the senate, and the people.

A. D. 614. The first intelligence which the new emperor received from the east was the loss of Antioch; Cæsarea the capital of Cappadocia, next yielded to the Persians; the vale of Damascus was deluged by their innumerable forces; and, after a short repose, the conquest of Jerusalem was effected by the son of Harmouz. Egypt itself, which had been exempt from war since the time of Diocletian, was subdued by the Persians; another army, in the same campaign, advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus; and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the sight of Constantinople. While the Persian conqueror contemplated with pleasure his wealth and power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of God. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle.—“In this manner,” said the Arabian prophet, “God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplications of Chosroes.” This prediction of Mahomet was accomplished by the subsequent victories of the Romans.

The Roman empire was now reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, with a few maritime cities.

Chosroes

Chosroes declared, that he would never give peace to the emperor of Rome till he had abjured his crucified God, and embraced the worship of the sun; yet he was at length persuaded to renounce the conquest of Constantinople; and it was agreed that the annual tribute from the Roman empire should be a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins.

A. D. 624. But the future conquests of Heraclius humbled the pride of the Persians; from the plains of Albania, he followed the chain of the Hyrcanian mountains, and descended into the province of Media; he carried his victorious arms as far as the cities of Caspin and Ispahan. Heraclius concluded, by his return to the coast of the Euxine, a triumphant expedition of three years.

A. D. 626. The resources of Chosroes were not yet exhausted; an army of fifty thousand men, called from their ornament *Golden Spears*, was destined to march against the Roman emperor; these, in conjunction with some Scythian allies, invested the city of Constantinople on the thirty-first of July; the deputies of the magistrates were insulted by the chagan. But at length the inhabitants were animated by a reinforcement sent to them by Heraclius, and the Persians and their allies were compelled to give the signal of retreat. During these transactions an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens.—Some troops sent to its relief were cut in pieces; and

and this trifling occurrence was the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the disciples of Mahomet, who emerging from the desert, in less than eight years acquired by the sword those provinces which had been rescued from the Persians by the valour of Heraclius. This being the age in which the Mahometan religion took its rise, we shall defer the account of the Greek emperors to a subsequent chapter, and proceed to the origin of that extraordinary impostor.

CHAPTER XL

Birth and Character of Mahomet—Propagates his Religion by the Sword—His Death and Successors—The Inroads of the Saracens in Spain and France.

WHEN Mahomet erected his holy standard, the kingdom of Yemen a province of the Persian empire; and from the city of Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general name of *Saracens*. A perfect model of Arabian virtue is said to have existed in the character of Hatem; he was brave and liberal; an eloquent poet and a successful robber; forty camels were roasted at his hospitable feasts; and at the prayer of a suppliant enemy, he restored both the captives and the spoil.

Persecuted Christians and banished Jews had for a long time inhabited Mecca and the Arabian wilderness; and the Arabs were pleased to find in the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promises of Ismael, revered the virtues of Abraham, and traced his pedigree, and their own, to the creation of the first man.

Mahomet

A. D. 566. Mahomet was born at Mecca, four years after the death of Justinian. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father and mother, and his inheritance was reduced to five camels, and an Æthiopian maid-servant. His uncle, Abu Taleb, was the guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich widow of Mecca, who soon bestowed upon him her hand and fortune. After his marriage, he continued in the practice of domestic virtue, till he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran, in the fortieth year of his age.

While historians inform us, that Mahomet had a capacious and retentive memory, an easy and social wit, an imagination sublime, a clear and decisive judgment, they add, that he could neither read nor write. From his earliest youth, he was addicted to religious contemplation; every year he withdrew to the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca. At length he published, under the name of *Islam*, that *there is only one God, and that Mahomet is the apostle of God.*

In the Koran he has rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle, that whatever rises must set; that whatever is born must die; and that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. He pretended that the chapters and verses of that holy book were revealed to him by the angel Gabriel.

These pages were collected by his disciples, just as they had been delivered to the prophet by the angel, and thrown, without order, into a chest;

chest; and that chest was entrusted to the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the sacred volume was published by his successor, Abubeker.

At the end of two hundred years, the *sonna*, or oral law, was fixed by the labours of Al Bouchari; who selected, from a mass of three hundred thousand reports, seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five as genuine traditions.

Whenever the Arabian prophet was pressed to give some sign of his miraculous powers, his answers were expressive of weakness and vexation; and he concealed the cheat under a pretence of vision and prophecy. Yet the credulity of the vulgar has recorded a long list of his spiritual exploits. Trees went forth to meet him; stones saluted him; a beam groaned to him; a camel complained to him; and a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned.

According to the Koran, those who believe in God must of consequence believe in Mahomet. Unbelievers are punished according to the degree of evidence they have rejected, and the true believers only will be judged by their actions. Those who tread in the steps of Mahomet will enjoy the groves and fountains of paradise; and seventy-two houris, or black-eyed girls, of resplendant beauty, will be created for the use of the meanest believers, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells.

When Mahomet was exalted to the rank of a sovereign, and invested with the prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging war, he began
to

to *command* the propagation of his new religion by the sword, and this was the harangue of the impostor.—“The sword” says Mahomet, “is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months or fasting and prayer; whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven. At the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as myrrh; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and of cherubims.”

To this glowing picture of future rewards, the Koran adds the persuasive truths of fate and predestination; and the companions of Mahomet advanced undauntedly to meet that death which they believed it impossible to shun.

A. D. The first time that Mahomet shewed
623. his military skill, joined to the aid of
his new religion, was in the famous
vale of Beder. His enemies consisted of one hundred horse and eight hundred and fifty foot. The forces of the prophet were only three hundred and thirteen. When he beheld the inferiority of his followers, “O God!” he exclaimed, “O God, if these are destroyed, by whom wilt thou be worshipped on the earth? Courage, my children, close your ranks, discharge your arrows, and the day is your own.” But doubtful of his force, he demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels. His followers fainted and were pressed; the prophet mounted his horse; he cast a handful of sand into the air, saying,

saying, "Let their faces be covered with confusion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice; their fancy beheld the angelic warriors; and the enemies of the prophet fled before him. In the pursuit this divine general himself was wounded, and two of his teeth, shattered with a stone, were conveyed from the scene of tumult and dismay to a place of safety.

The Jews, refusing their belief to the doctrines of the Arabian prophet, fell under his implacable rage; and he summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas!" replied the trembling Jews, "we are ignorant of the use of arms; but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?" Mahomet reduced their fortresses, and confiscated their wealth, in fifteen days.

After the Arabian tribes had submitted to the arms and creed of the prophet, his ambition prompted him to proclaim war against the emperor of the Romans, and when his followers complained of the intolerable heat of summer: "Hell is much hotter," replied the indignant prophet.

The tribes and the cities from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea, acknowledged the dominion of the prophet.

He had asserted in familiar conversation, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had procured his permission.

He was afflicted with a fever for fourteen days, and finding that his dissolution was near, he
owned

owned that he had given the required permission to the angel of death ; he reclined his head on the lap of Ayesha the best beloved of his wives ; and raising his eyes towards the roof of the house, uttered these broken, but articulate words : “ O God !—Pardon my sins—yes ; I come—“ among my fellow-citizens on high,” and peaceably breathed his last on a carpet on the floor. He was interred on the same spot on which he expired ; and the tomb of the prophet at Medina vies, in the opinion of the pilgrim, with the sanctity of the temple at Mecca.

During one hundred years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, the arms of his successors had triumphed from India to the Atlantic Ocean, Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, acknowledged their power.

To the *North* of Syria the victorious Moslems reduced Cilicia, with its capital, Tarsus, and spread the flames of war to the shores of the Euxine, and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. To the *East* they levelled the walls of Edeffa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, in the dust ; and destroyed for ever the long disputed barrier of Rome and Persia. To the *West* they occupied the hills of Libanus, abounding in timber, and Phœnicia, populous in mariners. A fleet of seventeen hundred barks was equipped, and the imperial navy of the Romans fled before the natives of the desert. The Saracens rode masters of the sea ; and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades, were successively exposed to their rapacious visits.

I.

In

A. D. 711. In the spring of this year, the Saracens were led into Spain with Tarik at their head; their forces were about five thousand; Roderic, the Spanish monarch, opposed their progress at the head of ninety thousand men. The armies met near the town of Xeres, two leagues from Cadiz; three successive days were spent in bloody skirmishes, but the fourth proved decisive; and the Spanish army was scattered or destroyed in the flight or pursuit of the three following days. Roderic himself escaped a soldier's death, to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Boetis. The city of Cordova was assaulted and taken; the sea-coast of Boetica was reduced; and Tarik, directing his march from the Boetis to the Tagus, appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo, the gates of which were opened to the victors. The Tarik, after he had rewarded the Jews, to whose aid he was much indebted, marched beyond the Asturian mountains, and was stopped by the maritime town of Gijon.

The Saracens endeavoured to disarm the resistance of unbelievers by religious toleration. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus, were solemnly invited to accept the more powerful revelation of Mahomet; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship. The progress of their arms was facilitated by this moderation; and at the end of the first century of the hegira, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs

narchs of the globe. Under the last of the Omniades, the Arabian empire extended two hundred days journey from east to west, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic ocean; and to traverse their dominions in Africa would be a labour of four or five months for an Arabian caravan. The progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general uniformity of manners and opinions.

A. D. 677. About forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople; but the solid and lofty walls of the city were defended by numbers and discipline, and the Arabs were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire.

A. D. 716. The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken in the reign of the caliph Soliman. An army of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians, aided by a fleet of eighteen hundred ships, invested that city. The fire-ships of the Greeks were launched against them; and in a few hours an armada was destroyed, which threatened to extirpate the Roman name.

The deliverance of Constantinople may be principally ascribed to the terrors and efficacy of the *Greek fire*. From the few hints of the writers of that age, it is conjectured that this composition consisted of a liquid bitumen, mingled with sulphur, and the pitch that is extracted from green firs. This composition was used till

the middle of the fourteenth century, when it was greatly improved, and assumed the name of *gunpowder*.

A. D. 721. When the Arabs found themselves repulsed in the eastern part of Europe, they turned their arms towards the west, and were more successful. They had already conquered Spain, and began to enter the provinces of Gaul on the side of the Pyrennees mountains. Their first invasion of these parts was repelled by the Duke of Aquitain, who had assumed the title of king over the southern provinces of Gaul, through the weakness of the family of Clovis. These disciples of Mahomet repassed the Pyrennees, and seized upon Narbonne, Languedoc, Gascony, and Bourdeaux; and the south of France, from the mouth of the river Garonne to that of the Rhone. This extent of country assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

The spirit of Abderame, their leader, scorned these narrow limits; he passed the Garonne and Dordogne, over-ran the province of Aquitain, planted his standards on the walls of Tours and Sens, and ravaged the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the cities of Lyons and Besancon.

The danger which now threatened Christendom was averted by the genius and fortune of Charles Martel, an illegitimate son of the elder Pepin. The epithet of *Martel*, the *hammer*, was added to the name of Charles, to be expressive of the weighty strokes he used to give his enemies in battle. This famous warrior found, and
 attacked

attacked the invaders between Tours and Poitiers. During the first six days of a desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the east maintained their advantage ; but in the closer onset of the seventh day, they were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans. Abderame was slain ; the Saracens retired to their camp ; the various tribes turned their arms against each other, and each leader consulted his safety by a separate flight. The Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrennees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.

When the Arabs of the east were tormented by civil broils, a royal youth, of the name of Abdalrahman, escaped their vengeance, and landed on the coast of Andalusia, in Spain ; after a successful struggle, he established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Omniades, in Spain, who reigned about two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrennees. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs, who reigned at Bagdad, Cordova, and Cairoan, a city of Africa. These three rivals excommunicated each other, and agreed in opinion, that a sectary is more odious than an unbeliever.

A. D. Harun, the second son of Mohadi,
781. encamped under the walls of Constantinople, whilst Irene, and her infant son, Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. The empress purchased the retreat of the Saracens with an annual tribute of seventy thousand

thousand dinars of gold. About five years after this, when Nicephorus was emperor, he refused to pay the tribute, and resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. In his letter to the caliph he says, "Restore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." The answer of the caliph was of tremendous brevity:—"In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply."

It was written in characters of blood and fire in the plains of Phrygia; Nicephorus entered into a treaty of peace; but the triumphant caliph had scarcely retired before the peace was violated by the Byzantine emperor. The incensed Arabs invaded Asia Minor, and the coin of the tribute, which Nicephorus was compelled to pay, was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons.

A. D. 823. A party of Arabs, with Abu Caab, at their head, entered into the island of Crete, and these licentious corsairs, for one hundred and thirty-eight years, derided the ineffectual arms and curses of the princes of Constantinople.

A. D. 846. Rome partook in the sufferings of fallen Italy; a fleet of Saracens from the African coast entered the Tyber; they insulted the suburbs, and pillaged with rapacious zeal the tombs and temples of St. Peter and

and St. Paul. Their division saved the capital from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca.

At this pressing instant, the apostolical chair was filled by Leo the Fourth. The ancient walls of the city were repaired by the command of that Pope; and a chain was drawn across the stream of the Tyber, to impede the ascent of a hostile navy. The Saracens were defeated in their attack upon the city; and those who escaped the sword fell into the hands of their implacable pursuers, and the dangerous multitude of captives were reduced by the sword and the gibbet.

In the beginning of the tenth century, when the caliphs began to decline, and the eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia, and the isle of Cyprus became permanent accessions to the Roman empire.

CHAPTER XII.

The Progress of Society in Europe, from the Settlement of the Barbarians to the fifteenth Century.

THOUGH the northern invaders wanted taste to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered. And, doubtless, the mild spirit of Christianity would have softened their savage manners, had their minds been free from barbarous superstition, which, mixing with the Christian principles and ceremonies, produced that absurd medley of violence, devotion, and folly, which has so long disgraced the Romish church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. Whatever the avarice and craft of the priesthood gained by the conversion of the barbarians, the pure doctrine of Christianity lost. The priests perceived the utility of mingling druidical superstition with the doctrines of the gospel, in order to increase that temporal power which they then possessed.

The Druids among the Gauls and Britons, and the priests among the Germans, and all the nations of Scandinavia, possessed an absolute dominion

minion over the minds of men. After the conversion of this people, the clergy endeavoured to convert this prejudice in favour of themselves, while the humble doctrine of Christianity was lost in gross superstition. The deluded votaries were persuaded to conciliate the favour of God by the same means that satisfied the avarice of men, or by those employed to appease their fabulous deities. "They seem to have believed," says the Abbé de Mably, "that avarice was the first attribute of the Divinity, and that the saints made a traffic of their influence and protection." Hence the celebrated saying of Clovis:—"St. Martin serves his friends very well; but he makes them pay soundly for his trouble!"

As the interest of the clergy clashed with that of the laity, opposition and jealousy produced new disorders. The priests made use of artifice against their powerful adversaries; they invented fables to awe them into submission; they employed the spiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods; and changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas. Prelates were seen clad in armour, fighting for their lands, and luxury disgracing the name of the God of humility, while they perverted his doctrine. They made a mystery of the most necessary sciences: truth was not permitted to see the light, and reason was fettered in the cell of superstition. Many of the clergy themselves could scarce read, and writing was confined to the cloisters. There a blind and interested devotion,

tion, equally willing to deceive and to believe, dictated lying chronicles, and fabulous legends were composed, which contaminated history, religion, and the laws of society.

Europe, about the end of the eighth century, was involved in the black shades of ignorance and superstition. Charlemagne, in France, and Alfred the Great, in Britain, were fortunate enough to dispel some of those clouds which obstructed the progress of science in their dominions; but the ignorance and barbarism of the age were too powerful for their liberal institutions. After their time, these gleams of knowledge were soon extinguished, and Europe fell again into the chaos of superstition.

During the ninth and tenth centuries, the clergy, who alone possessed the important secrets of reading and writing, became the arbiters and the judges of almost all secular affairs. They assumed to themselves the jurisdiction of marriages, contracts, and wills, which they took care to involve in mystery, and by which they opened to themselves new sources of wealth and power; every thing wore the colour of religion; and under that suspicious banner the perpetrators of every crime enlisted. The history of those ages forms a satire on the human mind and on religion.

“Redeem your souls from destruction,” says St. Egidius, bishop of Noyon, “while you have the means in your power; offer presents and tythes to churchmen; come more frequently to church; humbly implore the patronage of the

“ the saints ; for if you observe these things,
 “ you may come with security in the day of the
 “ tribunal of the eternal Judge, and say, Give
 “ us, O Lord, for we have given unto thee ! ”

In several churches of France, at the conclusion of the festival, in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt, the priest, when he dismissed the people, brayed three times like an ass ; and the people, by way of response, brayed three times in return.

Europe continued in this gross ignorance and superstition until the close of the eleventh century, when letters began to revive, and make a small progress. But the learning of these times consisted in a scientific jargon, a false logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things.

The conception of the blessed Virgin, and the digestion of the Eucharist, were two of the principal objects of their speculation ; and out of the last a third arose, which was to know whether it was evacuated again !

In the middle of the tenth century, the disorders of government and religion had attained their utmost height. At this period the feudal policy was become almost universal. From this state of feudal anarchy the most frightful disorders arose ; force decided all things ; Europe was one great field of battle ; where the weak struggled for freedom, and the strong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle ; they were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad. The Scythians in their de-

ferts could not be less indebted to the laws of society than the Europeans during this period. The people, the most numerous as well as the most useful class in the community, were either actual slaves, or exposed to so many miseries, arising from pillage and oppression; to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a voluntary surrender of their liberty for bread and protection.

Among the causes which contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and to introduce order and politeness, we must rank chivalry, which, as Dr. Robertson remarks, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

During the rigours of the feudal system, the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpless could appeal for justice. The trader could no longer travel in safety, or bring, unmolested, his commodities to market. Every possessor of a castle pillaged him, or laid him under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way. When abuses grow to a certain height, society must reform or go to ruin. Humanity sprung from the bosom of cruelty and violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every outrage;
who,

who, equally unfeeling and superstitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pillaged ! who had massacred and done penance ! touched at last with a sense of natural equity, and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety. Such was the origin of an institution generally represented as whimsical !

War was carried on with less ferocity, when humanity no less than courage came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a distinction superior to royalty, and an honour which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen ; more gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himself to the service of some lady ; and violence and oppression decreased, when it was accounted meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, and an attention to the ladies, became the distinguishing character of a gentleman ; because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to military decorum. And valour, seconded by the motives of love, religion, and virtue, became irresistible.

The spirit of chivalry, however, frequently rose to an extravagant height, particularly in Spain, where, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a series of wild adventures,

tures, which have been deservedly ridiculed in the celebrated history of Don Quixote. It was seen, at the call of superstition to deluge Asia in blood, under the banners of the Prince of Peace. By the crusades to the Holy Land, the pure principles of chivalry, and those of the religion they pretended to protect, equally suffered, and were equally perverted. It has been said in praise of chivalry, that it communicated an increase of pleasure to the intercourse of life, by making woman a more essential part of society, and is therefore entitled to our gratitude.

But the beneficial effects of chivalry were strongly counteracted by other institutions of a less social kind, known by the name of *monastic*. The number of these solitary devotees, however, in ancient times, was few; but in the eleventh century, the monasteries became formidable for multitude and opulence. Mosheim says, that a popular opinion, (founded on a singular passage in the book of *Revelations*) which prevailed towards the close of the tenth century, contributed greatly to augment their opulence. The thousand years, from the birth or death of Christ, mentioned by St. John, were supposed to be nearly accomplished, and the day of judgment at hand. Multitudes of Christians, therefore, anxious only for their eternal salvation, delivered over to the monastic orders all their lands and treasures, and repaired to Palestine, where they expected the appearance of Christ on Mount Sion.

At

At length the holy reputation of this set of men, added to the opulence they had acquired, enabled them to trample upon the authority, and insult the persons of the princes whose government they administered. When the lives of these princes had been wicked, in order to stay the uplifted arm of Divine justice, they knelt at the feet of the monk and the priest; they were happy to commit to these favourites of heaven the whole management of their spiritual and temporal concerns. If chivalry had not roused the human powers to deeds of valour, and revived the passion for the softer sex, Europe might have sunk under the tyranny of a set of men, who pretend to renounce the world and its affairs, while they employ the engines of superstition and enthusiasm to beat down reason and common-sense, that they may thereby enslave mankind, in conjunction with tyrants.

Such was the state of society in Europe about the middle of the eleventh century, when letters began to revive, and manners to soften. We shall now say a few words respecting their progress in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Notwithstanding the injustice and cruelty attending the crusades, historians have enumerated several advantages which proceeded from these romantic expeditions.

The commercial effects of the crusades were no less considerable than their political influence. The ships which the Venetians and Genoese employed to transport the religious armies which Europe poured into Palestine, imported,

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on their return, the commodities of Asia, which enriched the Italian cities, and diffused a spirit for mercantile enterprize throughout Europe. Corporations, or independent communities, for the benefit of commerce, were erected, which may be considered as the first great step towards civilization in modern Europe. Before the establishment of municipal societies, the feudal system exacted from cities as well as villages, services equally disgraceful and oppressive; and they were deprived of the most natural and unalienable rights of humanity. They could not dispose of their effects by will; appoint guardians to their children, or even marry without the consent of their superior lord. All the cities, before their enfranchisement, were poor and wretched; but when they were formed into bodies politic, governed by magistrates chosen from among their own members, the spirit of industry revived, and commerce began to flourish. Population increased with independency; and a more frequent intercourse among men, and between kingdoms, gradually led to a greater refinement of manners, and tended to wear off those national and local prejudices which create dissension and animosity between the subjects of different nations.

Many of these immunities were obtained from the great barons for money to supply them in their crusades to Palestine. The sovereigns also granted, or sold, like privileges to towns within the royal domain, in order to counterbalance the power of their potent vassals.

The

The castles of the barons had formerly been the common asylum in times of danger; but towns surrounded with walls, and filled with citizens bound to protect each other, afforded a more commodious and secure retreat; the nobles became of less importance when they ceased to be the sole guardians of the people.

In England, Germany, and in France, (where the glorious standard of liberty has been so lately erected, and as gloriously defended) the representatives of communities obtained, by different means, a place in the national council, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The villains, who resided in the country, and were employed in cultivating the lands for their feudal masters, looked up to the new municipal power for protection and freedom. At length, these husbandmen became the farmers of the same fields which they had slavishly cultivated for the benefit of another. The activity of genius was awakened; and a numerous class of men, who formerly had no political existence, were restored to society, and augmented the force and riches of the state.

The abolition of trial by ordeal and by duel before the end of the thirteenth century, and the discovery of a copy of Justinian's Pandects at Amalphi, in Italy, when society was emerging from barbarism, have been enumerated by historians among the principal causes which contributed to the advancement of civil society in Europe.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

*Succession and Character of the Greek Emperors
of Constantinople, from the Time of Heraclius.*

IN the tenth chapter, we left Heraclius at Constantinople, to give an account of Mahomet and the empire of the west; we shall now resume the review of the transactions of the eastern empire.

A. D. Heraclius, after the death of his first wife, Eudocia, had contracted an incestuous marriage with his niece, Martina. **641.** The superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diseases of the father, and the deformity of his offspring. Constantine, his eldest son, succeeded him in the empire; Heracleonas, the son of Martina, was appointed his associate. Heraclius survived this association about two years, and he enjoined them to honour Martina as their mother and sovereign.

Constantine reigned but one hundred and thirty days; his ambitious mother, Martina, was suspected of poisoning him, with the connivance of Heracleonas. The senate condemned the former to the amputation of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and after the execution of this sentence,

tence, they were permitted to linger through the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion.

A. D. 641. Constans began to sway the scepter of the east, when he was four years old. His jealousy of his brother Theodosius, induced him to procure his death. But the imprecations of his people compelled him to go into exile, in the fulness of his power. After passing a winter at Athens, he sailed to Taurentum, visited Rome, and fixed his residence at Syracuse. But his steps were attended by remorse; and the visionary shade of his brother continually obtruded itself. A servant, who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him with the vase; he fell, stunned with the blow, and was suffocated with the water.

A. D. 668. But Constans had left three sons, and Constantine, the eldest, was exalted to the throne, and, from the length of his beard, was called Pogonatus. But his reign, like that of his predecessor's, was stained with fraternal discord. In the close of his life he was anxious to establish the right of primogeniture; he offered, on the shrine of St. Peter, the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the eldest alone was exalted to the rank of Augustus.

A. D. 685. After the decease of Pogonatus, Justinian the Second ascended the throne, and dishonoured by his vices the name of the celebrated law-giver. For ten
year

years he braved the revenge of his subjects. Leontius, a general of reputation, was drawn from a dungeon to assume the government of Greece; he observed, with a sigh, that inevitable death would pursue his footsteps; his friends replied, that the tyrant was universally abhorred, and that two hundred thousand patriots waited only for a leader. Then Justinian was dragged into the hippodrome, where the clamours of the people demanded his instant death; but through the lenity of Leontius his life was preserved; the amputation of his nose was imperfectly performed, and he was banished to the lonely settlement of Chelsozæ, in Crim-Tartary.

After three years, Leontius was dethroned by the rebel Apfimar, who assumed the name of Tiberius; the usurper regarded with terror the exiled Justinian, who had married the sister of the Khan of a hord of Tartars. But the Khan was tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and Justinian would have been assassinated, had not the secret been revealed by the affection of his wife, Theodora. The exiled emperor strangled the emissaries of the Khan with his own hands, sent back Theodora to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of his companions desired him to deserve the mercy of God, by a vow of forgiveness, if he should be restored to his throne. "Of forgiveness!" replied the intrepid tyrant, "May I perish this instant—may the Almightywhelm
" me

" me in the waves—if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies." He landed in the mouth of the Danube, retired to the Bulgarians, and purchased, by splendid promises, the aid of Terbelis, a Pagan prince.

The two princes besieged Constantinople with sixteen thousand horse. The usurper, Apfimar, was dismayed by the sudden appearance of his rival; the misfortunes of their hereditary sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, and Justinian was introduced into Constantinople by the diligence of his adherents, after a long exile.

A. D. 705. After rewarding Terbelis, he gratified his revenge, which he had nourished even amidst the storms of the Euxine; before their execution, he stood for an hour on the necks of Léontius and Apfimar. During the six years of his new reign, the rack, the axe, and the cord, were incessantly employed. The tyrant being deserted by his guards, was at length murdered: and the death of his son Tiberius extinguished the race of Heraclius.

A. D. 718. Philippicus succeeded him, but his reign was of short duration. At a public feast, some conspirators entered, blinded, and deposed the intoxicated monarch. Anastasius then assumed the imperial dignity; three years of a turbulent reign had scarcely elapsed, before Theodosius, an obscure officer of the revenue, was reluctantly invested with the purple, in a mutiny of the fleet; but he was compelled to yield to the ascendant of Leo, the general of the oriental troops. The last days of Theodosius

Theodosius were honourable, while those of Anastasius were ended in treasonable conspiracy.

A. D. 741. Constantine the Fifth was the son and successor of Leo, and derived the name of Copronymus from the pollution of his baptismal font. His manners were dissolute, and his temper cruel; but his enemies allow his courage and activity at the head of his legions; and in a various reign of thirty-four years, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and barbarian war.

A. D. 775. When Leo the Fourth was upon the throne, the five sons of Copronymus endeavoured to disturb the peace of the empire; their treasonable attempts were twice pardoned; a third conspiracy was punished with amputation, and banishment to Athens, where they were lost in oblivion and darkness.

The empress Irene was declared by the testament of Leo, the guardian of the Roman world, and of her son Constantine the Sixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene faithfully discharged the office she was entrusted with, but when he came to years of maturity, having been guilty of treason against his mother, she ordered him to be deprived of his eyes. But at length she was driven to earn a scanty subsistence, in her exile in the isle of Lesbos, by the labour of her distaff.

The character of Nicephorus, who succeeded Irene, was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice. He was vanquished

vanquished by the Saracens; and slain by the Bulgarians. His son Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound; but the six months that he survived were sufficient to prove, with the kingdom, he inherited the vices of his father. Michael, who had married his sister, Procopia, possessed the wishes and esteem of the palace and city.

A. D. 811. Michael succeeded, whose virtues were better adapted to the shade of a private life. He prevented the calamities of war by a voluntary resignation; and he enjoyed above thirty-two years the comforts of solitude and religion, separated from his power and wife.

The reign of Leo was terminated by an inexorable assassin at the foot of the altar, after he had been on the throne about eleven years.

Michael, surnamed the Stammerer, was delivered from a dungeon, and impending death, to display his ignoble manners on a throne. His title was disputed by Thomas, the Cappadocian; he transported into Europe an army of four-score thousand barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian Sea; he formed the siege of Constantinople; but his camp was assaulted by a Bulgarian king, and Thomas had the misfortune to fall into the power of the conqueror. His hands and feet were amputated; and, mounted on an ass, he was led through the streets of the city, which he sprinkled with his blood.

Theophilus

Theophilus succeeded his father, Michael, to the throne. His five expeditions against the Saracens proved so unsuccessful, as to give the surname of Unfortunate to the emperor.

A. D. 842. Theophobus, a Persian, who had been educated in the Byzantine court, aspired to the throne, through the entreaties of the soldiers under his command. But this involuntary rival for the throne excited the jealousy of the emperor, who demanded the head of the relenting Persian; and as he received it, he said, "Thou art no longer Theophobus;" and, sinking on his couch, he added, "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus."

A. D. 867. Theodora, and her infant son Michael, swayed the sceptre of the east, together and separately, about twenty-five years. Michael, after imitating the ignoble vices of Nero, was murdered in his sleep by the founder of a new dynasty, whom he had raised to rank and power.

Basil, the Macedonian, though he derived his descent from the former rivals of Rome, was educated as a slave in the service of barbarians, by which he acquired a hardiness of body and flexibility of mind, which proved the means of his future elevation. He had been in the service of the emperor Theophilus, whom he pleased by overthrowing a celebrated wrestler of the Bulgarians, and by taming a beautiful but vicious horse, which had been condemned as unmanageable. He married a concubine of the emperor Michael, by whose murder he established himself

self on the throne. Basil derived his praise from the ruined state of the empire at his accession, and the flourishing state of it at his death. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his understanding vigorous and decisive.

His glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chace; a furious stag entangled his horns in the belt of Basil, by which he fell, and either by the fall, or an immediate fever, he expired amidst the tears of his family and people.

The emperor Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, had one son by the beautiful Zoe, his concubine, whom (when the emperor had married her) the patriarch Nicolas refused to bless as legitimate, because he was the fruit of a fourth marriage, which was then a scandal among the Christians of the east.

A. D. 919. Constantine the Seventh, on the death of his father Leo, succeeded to the throne when he was but six years old. Romanus Lecapenus, who, from an obscure soldier, had raised himself to the command of the naval forces of the empire, sailed from the mouth of the Danube, with a victorious fleet, into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people and the guardian of the Prince; and at length assumed the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, which he held near five and twenty years.

A. D. 945. The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving
K brothers

brothers quarrelled with each other, and conspired against their father. They surprized him in the palace, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, inhabited by a religious society. This domestic revolution restored Constantine the Seventh, surnamed Porphyrogenitus. In the fortieth year of his reign, he resumed the government of his empire from the hands of usurpers. He reigned after that time about fifteen years, and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned by the unfeigned tears of his subjects. A herald went before the procession, and proclaimed this awful admonition,—“ Arise, O king of the world, and obey the summons of the king of kings.”—His son Romanus succeeded to the throne; and after a reign of four years, his wife, Theophano, mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father,

The second emperor of the west married Theophano, the daughter of Romanus the younger. After the death of her husband, the empress threw herself into the arms of Nicephorus Phocas, who was regarded, as a hero and a saint. He marched to Constantinople, and assumed the title of Augustus; and in a reign of six years, he provoked the hatred of his subjects, who accused him of hypocrisy and avarice. Each spring he marched in person against the Saracens, and secured the eastern barrier.

A. D.
969.

John Zimisces, a noble Armenian, had promoted the elevation of Nicephorus, and had been rewarded with disgrace

disgrace and exile. He was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress, Theophano, who consented with alacrity to the death of her husband. The conspirators were introduced into the palace; the head of Nicephorus was shewn to the populace; and the Armenian was proclaimed emperor of the east. At the exhortation of the patriarch, he separated himself from his more criminal associate, and Theophano was condemned to lament her crimes in exile. The personal valour and activity of Zimisces was signalized on the Danube and the Tigris; and by his double triumph over the Russians and Saracens, he deserved the title of saviour of the empire, and conqueror of the east. It was strongly suspected that he died by poison.

A. D. During this usurpation of twelve
976. years, the two lawful emperors, Basil and Constantine, had grown to the age of manhood. Constantinople and the provinces acknowledged Basil as their sovereign. He displayed his valour in frequent expeditions against the Saracens, and by the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria. He expired in the sixty-eighth year of his age, when he was about to undertake a war against the Saracens of Sicily; the principal acquisitions of his reign were the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people.

A. D. After the death of Constantine the
1025. Ninth, the sceptre devolved on Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of graceful person and fair reputation, who had married

the abandoned Zoe, the second daughter of the late emperor. She preferred Michael, a handsome Paphlagonian, to the pleasures of her bed; and she soon justified the Roman maxim, that every adulteress is capable of poisoning her husband. The death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the Fourth. After the death of Michael, Zoe consented to receive a third husband, who reigned as Constantine the Tenth, and surnamed *Monomachus*, expressing his valour and victory in some public or private quarrel. The most memorable transaction of his short reign was his dividing, with the consent of Zoe, the nuptial bed with a widow of the name of Selvena. Yet he survived both his wives, and, on his death, for nineteen months, Theodora resumed the administration of the empire. Her ministers persuaded her to nominate for her successor, Michael the Sixth, a decrepid veteran; whilst he ascended the throne, Theodora sunk into the grave, and with her expired the Macedonian dynasty.

A. D. 1056. After the short reign of Isaac Comnenus and Constantine the Eleventh, two generals, distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates, appeared at the head of the European and Asiatic legions, and assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. Bryennius soon displayed his standards before the gates of Constantinople, but his troops were soon repulsed by the inhabitants, whilst Botaniates advanced with slow and cautious steps, and was received

received with the acclamations of the people, and the approbation of the senate. But he soon resigned the purple, and assumed the monastic habit, and the title of Archbishop of Ephesus. The family of the Comneni were again seated on the throne.

The disorders of the times were the misfortunes and glory of Alexius, the third son of John Comnenus. In his intercourse with the Latins, he was artful and discerning; and he balanced with superior policy, the interests and the passions of the champions of the first crusade; but, before the end of his long reign, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. When pressed by his wife, Irene, in his last hours, to alter the succession, he breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of the world, and the indignant empress replied, "You die as you have lived, an hypocrite."

A. D. John, the elder son of Alexius, succeeded to the throne; and in him were united the virtues of Marcus Antoninus. The only defect of this accomplished character was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms.

He frequently marched at the head of a victorious army; and the Latins were astonished at the superior spirit of a Greek. But as, after a reign of twenty-five years, he hunted the wild boar, in the struggle with the furious animal, a poisoned arrow from his quiver wounded his hand, and proved fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.

Manuel, the younger son of the last mentioned emperor, succeeded to the throne. The thirty-seven years of his reign were filled by a perpetual warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hords of the wilderness beyond the Danube. When Manuel was in great distress in the camp, and quenching his thirst at a fountain, he endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. He complained that the water was mingled with Christian blood. "It is not the first time, O emperor," said the soldier, "that you have drank the blood of your Christian subjects."

In the reign of Manuel, his cousin Andronicus shared the perils and the pleasures of the emperor; but his treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor, soon engaged the attention of Manuel, and a twelve years imprisonment was the punishment of his treachery and ingratitude.

About this time Andronicus escaped from his confinement, traversed the desert of Moldavia, and the Carpathian hills, deceived a party of Wallachians who had intercepted him, and reached Kiow, the residence of the Russian prince. He procured the forgiveness of Manuel, by persuading the prince to join the arms of the emperor in the invasion of Hungary. At the head of the Russian cavalry, Andronicus marched from the Boresthemes to the Danube; and his valour in the assault of Zemlin sealed his free pardon. Andronicus seduced the beautiful Philippa, the sister of the empress Maria; and leaving

leaving the indiscreet princeſs to weep and to repent, he undertook the pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and captivated the affections of Theodora, a young and handsome queen, widow of Baldwin the Third, king of Jeruſalem. The diſorders which followed the death of Manuel produced a civil war in Conſtantinople: every tongue repeated the praises of Andronicus, who returned to Conſtantinople, and ordered the coronation of Alexius, the young emperor. Andronicus was ſoon after choſen his colleague; and at laſt ſtrangled the helpless and unfortunate youth. As the tyrant, inſenſible to pity, ſurveyed the corſe, he ſtruck it rudely with his foot, and exclaimed, “Thy father was a *knave*, thy mother a *whore*, “and thyſelf a *fool*.”

A. D. The reign of Andronicus was ſhort,
1183. and a ſingular conſtraiſt of vice and virtue. The general deteſtation of the people was at length aroſed. Iſaac Angelus, a deſcendant of the great Alexius, had fled from the executioner to the church of St. Sophia. The lamentations of the crowd, who had fought the ſame ſanctuary, were ſoon converted into curſes. Iſaac was proclaimed emperor; and Andronicus was abandoned to the rage of the populace. His teeth, his hair, an eye, and a hand, were torn from him; ſuſpended between two pillars, he was left to the inſults of an unfeeling multitude, till two friendly Italians plunged their ſwords into his body, and released him from human cruelty. “Lord have mercy upon me!” and, “Why will you bruise a broken reed?”

CHAP.

K 4.

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were his last words; and our hatred for the tyrant is lost in pity for the man.

Isaac Angelus succeeded to the throne, but his vices introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the eastern empire.

CHAPTER XIV.

Revolt of Italy and Rome—Temporal Dominion of the Popes—Conquest of Italy by the Franks—Establishment of Images—Reign of Charlemagne—Character and Coronation of Charlemagne—Constitution of the Germanic Body.

A. D. 726. **T**HE worship of images was so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries, as to produce the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the west. As the primitive Christians were ignorant of the genuine features of the Son of God, the advocates for image worship pretended, that Christ had delivered an imperfect impression of his face on linen to Abgarus; before the sixth century, copies of this impression were distributed in the camps and cities of the eastern empire; but these were less respected by the barbarians and the Arians of the west. When Leo the Third, from the mountains of Isauria, had ascended the throne of the east, the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, were demolished, and a smooth surface of plaister was spread over the walls of the churches of Constantinople and the provinces.

The patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of Rome were nearly equal in ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction. The priest of the west soon imbibed the virtues and ambition, and at length he assumed the character of a prince. In the eighth century the pope of Rome founded his dominion on rebellion. Leo having abolished the worship of images in the east, Gregory the Second of Rome pronounced the separation of the two churches, and deprived Leo of the sovereignty of Italy.

The Italian bishop, after defending the use of images, writes thus to the Grecian emperor, "The eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility; and they revere, as a God upon earth, the apostle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy. The barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the shepherd. These pious barbarians are kindled into rage; they think to avenge the persecution of the east; abandon your rash and fatal enterprize, reflect, tremble, and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood which will be spilt in the contest; may it fall on your own head."

Gregory, without depending on prayer or miracles, boldly armed against the eastern emperor. The Italians swore to live and die in defence of the pope and sacred images; and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of the holy war.

The Greeks made a descent in the neighbourhood of Ravenna; but after a hard fought battle, they

they were compelled to retreat to their ships; and amidst the triumph of the catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the *Iconoclasts*, or image breakers. With their consent, he pronounced a general excommunication against all who should attack the images of the saints.

When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors over Italy was extinguished, the ruins of Rome presented the sad image of depopulation and decay. The inhabitants, the offspring of slaves and strangers, were despicable in the eyes of the victorious barbarians.

"In the name of a Roman," says the bishop Luitprand, "we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious; the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature." The Romans now, by the necessity of their situation, were cast into a rough model of a republican government; and their domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop.

A. D. The Lombards entered into an alliance with the Greeks against the ecclesiastical governors of Rome. Gregory the First, in this distress, implored the aid of the greatest hero of that age, Charles Martel, who governed the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke. But the greatness of Charles's occupation prevented him from interfering in the affairs of Italy, except by an ineffectual mediation. His son, Pepin, assumed

the office of champion of the Roman church. Pope Stephen the Third had passed the Alps to solicit his friendship and support. The king in person led an army to facilitate the return of the holy father. Rome was again encompassed by the arms of the Lombards, and again delivered by a second expedition of Pepin.

A. D. 774. At length the expiring monarchy of the Lombards was pressed by the zeal and prudence of Pope Adrian, and by the genius and fortune of *Charlemagne*, the son of Pepin. The passes of the Alps were surprized and the walls of Pavia were invested. After a blockade of two years, Desiderius, the last of their native princes, surrendered his capital; and the Lombards, left in possession of their national laws, became the brethren rather than the subjects of the Franks.

The popes rewarded the race of Charles for their aid, with the dignities of the king of France, and patrician of Rome. The powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; but the regal title was still attached to Childeric, the last descendant of Clovis. This title of Childeric was a phantom only.

The interest of Pope Zachary prompted him to decide, that Pepin should be declared king, and that the unfortunate Childeric should be degraded, shaven, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. A dire anathema was thundered against them, if they should declare the regal title to any except to the race of the Carlovingian princes.

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In this age the popes, under the mask of religion, committed every enormity, and the humble name of Jesus was converted into an instrument of ambition, injustice and the craft of priests: Tyrants, for their interest, lent their aid; and the inhabitants of Europe were immersed in ignorance and superstition.

The Roman ambassadors presented Charles Martel and his posterity with the keys of the shrine of St. Peter, as a symbol of sovereignty.

The gratitude of the Carlovingian race was adequate to these obligations; they endowed the Roman pontiff with supreme and absolute dominion; and the world beheld, for the first time, a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince. The inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto, in the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, voluntarily professed themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter; and by this surrender completed the present circle of the ecclesiastical state.

Before the end of the eighth century the ecclesiastics invented a scheme to justify the Roman pontiff in assuming temporal power: they pretended that Constantine, the first of the Christian emperors, was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism by St. Sylvester, the Roman bishop; and that, out of gratitude, the emperor had resigned to the popes the sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West. Charlemagne was exhorted by pope Adrian the First, who introduced this memorable donation into the world, to imitate the

the liberality of Constantine, and fix temporal power to the Holy See.

While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the eastern empire. The fair and ambitious empress Irene, as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts. A synod, convened at Nice, pronounced, that the worship of the images was agreeable to scripture and reason.

A. D. 800. Leo, the successor of Adrian, placed a precious crown on the head of Charlemagne, who, on the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, appeared in the church of St. Peter; the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor of the Romans." The imperial title was the ambitious object of a prince, whose dominions, east and west, extended from the Ebro to the Elbe, or Vistula; and, between the north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. But Charlemagne beheld with a sigh the destructive progress of the Normans, who, in less than seventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

A. D. 877. The continent of Europe, towards the close of the ninth century, presents the historian with a tremendous catalogue

catalogue of calamities and disorders, occasioned by the despotism of feudal tyrants, crafty priests, and barbarous subjects. Lewis the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, procured the crown of France, upon the infamous condition of becoming a nefarious instrument to the nobility and clergy. For this kindness to clerical chicanery, Pope John the Eighth made an effort to get him elected emperor, in the room of his father, by the Italian states; but not being able to carry his point, he retired into France, and held a council at Troyes, where he excommunicated the duke of Spoleto and the marquis of Tuscany, for opposing his measures, and attacking the ecclesiastical state. One of the canons of this council breathes the true spirit of priestly insolence. "*The powers of the world,*" said these disciples of the God of Humility, "shall not dare to seat themselves in the presence of bishops, unless desired!"

A. D. After the death of Lewis the Stammerer, he was succeeded by his two
879. sons, Lewis the Third and Carloman the Second. Duke Boson, father-in-law to Carloman, procured, by his intrigues with the pope and clergy, the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, Italy was in possession of Carloman, king of Bavaria, who had also seized part of Lorraine, and the French nobility already enjoyed most of the lands, so that a king of France retained little more than the mere shadow of royalty.

A. D. On the death of Lewis and Carloman,
843. the joint king of France, Charles the Fat,
son

son of Lewis the German, already emperor, and successor to his two brothers, was elected king of France. Though Charles had governed his paternal dominions without any visible defect of judgment, and raised himself to the empire by his reputation and address, he disgraced himself by ceding Friezland to the Normans, and promising them a tribute for forbearance, he roused them by his perfidy, while he encouraged them by his weakness. Enraged at the death of their king, who had been invited to a conference, and murdered, they entered France, penetrated as far as Pontoise, burnt that city, and besieged Paris. The besieged defended themselves more than a year against an army of thirty thousand men, before Charles came to their relief, with the whole militia of his dominions. But when he appeared on the mountain of Montmart, the Normans did not shew the least intimation of fearful alarm; and Charles, preferring a shameful negociation to a doubtful victory, engaged to pay them a prodigious ransom for his capital and the safety of his kingdom; and not being able to raise the money till the spring, he permitted the Normans to winter in Burgundy, where they continued their ravages with the most insatiable fury.

Charles by this ignominious treaty lost the small remains of his popularity, and soon fell into disgrace with the nobility and clergy, the only powers which the sovereigns of these ages had to fear; he prosecuted the bishop of Verceil for a criminal correspondence with his empress Rachael,

Rachael, whom he imprisoned, and who completed his disgrace. She affirmed, that she was not only innocent of the crime laid to her charge, but a pure virgin, yet untouched by her husband and her accuser. An absurd appeal to heaven supplied the place of a jury of matrons, and she insisted on being admitted to her purgation. The bishop fostered the general discontent; and Charles was deposed in a diet of the empire, and was afterwards obliged to subsist by the liberality of the bishop of Mentz.

A. D. 888. Arnold, the bastard son of Carloman, late king of Bavaria, and grandson of Lewis the German, was now raised to the imperial dignity. Italy submitted alternately to the dukes of Friuli and of Spoleto, both of the family of Charlemagne by the mother's side. Their competition was long and bloody. Count Eudes, whose valour had saved Paris, and whose father, Robert the Strong, had been equally brave and illustrious, was elected king of France, which he agreed to hold in trust for Charles the Simple, yet a minor.

A. D. 898. After the death of Eudes, Charles the Simple, now acknowledged king of France, increased by his weakness the prevailing evils. The nobles aspired at independency; usurped the governments with which they had been intrusted, and extorted confirmations of them from Charles for themselves and their heirs, on the easy condition of an empty homage. The young historian may here be wished to observe the rise and establishment of the boasted nobility of

of France, who have been lately abolished, and be taught to infer from the two events, that the boasted pageantry of an empty title, a mere creature of the imagination and fancy, is raised and demolished with equal facility.

After Charles had established and confirmed the feudal tyrants in their separate principalities, nearly independent of the crown, the great body of the people were reduced to a state of absolute slavery, or servitude; a condition so precarious and wretched, that they were often happy to exchange it for protection and slavery.

A. D. In this state of anarchy and confusion were the political concerns of 905. France, when Rollo, one of the most illustrious leaders of the Normans, after having spread terror over the maritime provinces of Europe, sailed up the Seine, took Rouen, fortified it, and made it his head-quarters. His depredations and power became so formidable, as to induce Charles to offer him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neustria as her dower. Francon, archbishop of Rouen, was charged with the negociation. The preliminary was that Rollo should acknowledge Charles* as his superior, and become a Christian; and, in order to induce the Norman to embrace the faith, the prelate preached of a future state, of hell,

to which he said he would carry him. When Rollo was required to kiss the king's feet by way of homage, he expressed his reluctance by taking his Majesty by the foot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth, overturned both him and his chair, before all his nobility. This insult was passed over as an accident. JUL. GENET.

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and of heaven. Interest for the pecuniary concerns of the church were the bishop's motives for introducing an hypocritical barbarian within its pale; and a beautiful princess and large domains soon made Rollo a convert to the most perverted of all religions, the religion of humility.

The provinces of Normandy and Bretagne, however flourished under the government of the Norman king. He encouraged agriculture and industry, was particularly severe in punishing theft, robbery, and every species of violence. Under his reign, a taste for the sweets of society increased with the conveniencies of life, and the love of justice with the benefits derived from it; so that the duchy of Normandy became in a short time a populous and cultivated province. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the ablest prince, and the wisest legislator of the age in which he lived.

While these things passed in France, great alterations took place in the neighbouring states, and among the princes of the blood of Charlemagne.

Arnold, king of Germany, and emperor of the west, was succeeded by his son, Lewis the Fourth, only seven years of age. Another Lewis, king of Arles, and son of the usurper Boson, crossed the Alps, and obliged pope Benedict the Fourth to crown him emperor. But he was soon after surprized at Verona by Berengorius, who put out his eyes, and ascended the throne of Italy, which he had long disputed with the emperor Arnold. In the mean time, Lewis the
Fourth

Fourth died, and the empire departed from the French to the Germans, from the family of Charlemagne to those Saxons whom he had subdued and persecuted, who became, in their turn, the protectors of that religion for which they had suffered, and the persecutors of other Pagans.

A. D. Conrad the First was chosen emperor of Germany at a Diet assembled 912. at Worms. His reign was one continual scene of troubles; he was obliged to march into Lorrain, where the nobility had taken the part of the family of Charlemagne; one rebellion succeeded another; and, to complete his misfortunes, the Huns, or Hungarians, invaded the empire. All Germany felt their fury; they obliged Conrad to purchase a peace on the most shameful conditions.

A. D. He died without male heirs, after 917. recommending to the Germanic body, as his successor, Henry duke of Saxony, son of that Otho to whom he owed his crown.

The kingdom of Germany and France were separated for ever. The provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned with Italy to the imperial dignity of Lothaire. In the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger children, and Lewis the Second, his eldest son, was content with the realms of Italy. On his death, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins; and the popes most dexterously

terously seized the opportunity of judging the claims and merits of the candidates. Charles the Fat, the last emperor of the Carlovingian race, was deposed, on account of insanity, in a diet. According to the measure of their force, the governors, bishops, and lords, usurped the fragments of the falling empire; but their title and possessions were alike precarious, and the term of seventy-four years, from the abdication of Charles the Fat, to the establishment of Otho the First, may be deemed a vacancy.

A. D. 962. Otho was of the noble race of the Dukes of Saxony; his father, Henry the Fowler, was elected by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits were enlarged on every side by his sons, the first and greatest of the Othos. At the head of a victorious army, he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable æra, two maxims were introduced, and ratified by time. First, That the prince who was elected in the German diet acquired from that instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. Second, But that he might not lawfully assume the titles of emperor and Augustus till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff. But in the time of the Othos, the Byzantine court persisted in their determination not to prostitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

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The German emperors exercised the powers which had been assumed by the Grecian and Gothic princes in the election of the popes. On the death of the pope, the college of cardinals proceeded to the election of another, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applauses or murmurs of the Roman people; but the election was imperfect till the German emperor had signified his consent. After a long series of scandal, the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the austerity and zeal of Gregory the Seventh. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. First, To fix in the college of cardinals the sole right of election. Second, To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. The first of his designs was supported and accomplished by the ecclesiastical order; but the second attempt was vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of reason.

The German emperors had long been ambitious to enslave the kingdom of Italy; but their patrimonial estates were stretched along the Rhine, or scattered through distant provinces; and this domain was alienated by the imprudence or distress of successive princes; their revenue, from various vexations, was scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of their household. Their troops were formed by the voluntary service of their feudal vassals, who passed the Alps with reluctance, and capriciously deserted before the

the end of the campaign. In the Italian cities, a municipal government was never totally abolished; and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the flame of freedom and industry was rekindled by the Lombards. The jurisdiction of the bishops, the marquisses, and the counts, was banished from the republics of Tuscany.

A. D. 1250. About the middle of the thirteenth century, after the death of Frederic the Second, a crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the German empire. The lords of innumerable castles assumed a state of independence; but the union of the Germans produced, at length, under the name of an empire, a great free system of a federative republic. The institution of diets kept alive the national spirit, and the powers of a common legislature are still exercised by the three colleges, of the electors, the princes, and the free imperial cities of Germany.

First, The electors were composed of seven of the most powerful feudatories, who assumed the privilege of choosing the Roman emperor. These were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three Archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. Secondly, The college of princes and prelates delivered themselves from a promiscuous multitude, and reduced the long series of independent counts to four representative votes. Thirdly, The commons were introduced as the third branch of the legislature; the Hanseatic league commanded

commanded the trade and navigation of the north; the confederates of the Rhine secured the intercourse of the inland country; the influence of these cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy; and their negative still invalidates the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes.

A. D. In the fourteenth century, the Roman empire of Germany no longer
1356. held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a single province of the former empire of Trajan or Constantine. Though the Roman pontiffs were either in exile or captivity at Avignon, they effected the dominion of the earth, and bestowed on Charles the Fourth, of Bohemia, the promise of the vacant empire. Charles was saluted king of the Romans, and future emperor. But this title described little more than the elective and impotent magistrate of an aristocracy of princes; and his best prerogative was the right of presiding and proposing in the national senate, which was convened at his summons. The gold of Italy secured the election of his son; but such was the shameful poverty of the Roman emperor, that his person was arrested in the streets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn, as a pledge for the payment of his expences.

Yet the formal majesty of the same emperor in the diet may well excite our astonishment and admiration. The domestic service of the palace was performed by the hereditary great officers, the seven electors, who in rank and title were equal

equal to kings. The great marshal regulated the order of the guests. The great steward, the count palatine of the Rhine, placed the dishes on the table. The great chamberlain, the margrave of Brandenburgh, presented the golden ewer and bason to wash. And the king of Bohemia, as cup-bearer, was represented by the emperor's brother, the duke of Luxemburgh. He disputed with the Pope the prerogative of creating kings and assembling councils.

 CHAP. XV.

*State of the Eastern Empire in the tenth Century—
The Doctrine of the Paulicians—The Hunga-
rians—The Russians—Conversion of the Bar-
barians.*

IN the tenth century, the provinces which then adhered to the eastern empire, had been cast into a new mould by the institution of the *Thems*, or military governments, the origin of which is obscure, and their limits were fluctuating. There were seventeen of these military governments in Asia, and twelve in Europe.

Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the Second, enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name; but in the eleventh century, the prospect was clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes; the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers, and almost all the Asiatic branches were torn from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to the Peloponnesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece,
were

were obedient to their sceptre; the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty islands of the Algean, or Holy Sea; and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms. A Jewish traveller, who visited Constantinople in the twelfth century, declared that capital paid each day to her sovereign twenty thousand pieces of gold.

The Empress Theodora and her husband left to their successor, Michael the Third, one hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, and three thousand of silver. The victorious armies of Basil the Second were paid and rewarded, without breaking into the mass of two hundred thousand pounds of gold (about eight millions sterling) which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace. The subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dextrous of nations; their country was blessed by Nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit, and feudal anarchy of Europe.

The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with the magnificent villas of the princes of Constantinople; the great palace, the centre of imperial residence, was decorated and enlarged by the wealth and emulation of successive sovereigns; and the long series of apartments were adorned with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. The dignity of the imperial

throne was maintained by a solemn and studied silence ; and all who entered the royal presence, fell prostrate on the ground, and kissed the feet of the emperor.

By an interdict inscribed on the altar of St. Sophia, the Cæsars were prohibited from intermarrying with foreign nations. The alliance of Compronimus with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, was censured in a subsequent reign ; Romanus, whose grand-daughter had married a Bulgarian prince, was considered as a plebeian usurper ; but the nuptials of Romanus the Second with Bertha of France or Italy, was justified by his father Porphyrogenitus ; and the Franks were honourably excepted from the general prohibition. The union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse ; the second wife of Romanus was of plebeian, but of Roman birth. Of their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, the eldest was bestowed on the son of the great Otho ; Theophano governed, after the death of her father-in-law and husband, during the minority of her son, Rome, Italy, and Germany, with the approbation of her subjects. Anne, the youngest daughter, became the wife of Walodimir, great prince of Russia ; the Grecian princess was sacrificed to the assistance of a pagan of the north ; yet her marriage proved fortunate and fruitful ; and the king of France, Henry First, sought a wife of imperial descent on the borders of Europe and Christendom, and obtained the daughter of her grandson, Jerosslaus.

The

The three great empires which, from the age of Charlemagne to that of the crusades, disputed the world, were the Greeks, the Saracens, and Franks. The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts, and the annoyance of their enemies. Their invention of liquid fire was employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effects; but in the decision of battles, steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction; their armour on a march was laid aside in light chariots, and reluctantly resumed on the approach of an enemy; their offensive weapons consisted of swords, battle-axes, and spears; but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to twelve cubits. Yet, though the wealth and care of the Roman emperors could liberally supply the arms of the soldier, it was impossible to renew his debilitated mind; the Greeks were sunk in their own esteem, and that of their neighbours; and a cold hand and loquacious tongue was the general description of the nation.

The Moslems, under the last caliphs, had undoubtedly degenerated from the high-spirited enthusiasm of the first companions of the prophet; but the latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the heart of their religion; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder; the rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God. Their offensive and defensive arms were similar in strength and temper to those of the Romans,

whom they far excelled in the management of the horse and bow. In their engagements, they sustained with patient firmness the first attack, and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they were repulsed, they knew not how to renew the combat; and their dismay was heightened by the superstitious prejudices that God had declared himself on the side of their enemies.

The Franks, after the death of Charlemagne, had been separated into many hostile and independent states; the regal title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; and their private wars, which overturned the fabric of government, fomented the martial spirit of the nation. In the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries every peasant was a soldier, and every village a fortification. Their love of freedom and of arms was felt with conscious pride, by the Franks themselves, and was observed by the Greeks with terror and amazement. Retreat was considered as flight, and flight as indelible infamy. In the age which preceded the institution of knighthood, the Franks were rude and unskilful in the service of cavalry, and unpractised in the use of pikes, or missile weapons; they marched to battle, encumbered by the length of their swords, the weight of their armour, and the magnitude of their shields; their independent spirit disdained the yoke of subordination, and abandoned the standard of their chief, if he attempted to keep the

the field beyond the time of their stipulation or service.

From the reign of Justinian may be dated the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his institutes in a language which he celebrates as the proper style of the Roman government. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces, and was but imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws, and the ministers of the state. The several parts of his jurisprudence were successively translated, and the version obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom. Tiberius by the Arabs, and Maurice by the Italians, are distinguished as the first of the Greek Cæsars, and the founders of a new empire; and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence, and the acclamations of the palace. Yet the appellation of Greeks was rejected by the prince and people to whom it was applied; and long after they had renounced the dress and idiom, the name of *Romans* adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople.

The Greeks of Constantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar speech, acquired the free use of their ancient language, and a familiar knowledge of the sublime masters who had pleased or instructed the first of nations; but these advantages only tend to aggravate the re-

proach and shame of a degenerate people. They read, they praised, they compiled; but their languid soul seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity, or promote the happiness of mankind; but the minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and imperious superstition; their understandings were bewildered in metaphysical controversy; and their taste was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an absurd medley of declamation and scripture.

The restoration of images in the eastern world was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy; the Pagans had disappeared; the Jews were silent and obscure; and persecution must have slept, had not a branch of the Manichæans, about the middle of the seventh century, been selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny. Their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion; and the exile of the Paulicians has scattered over the west the seeds of reformation.

The *Paulicians* were a religious sect, who derived their name from the peculiar attention they paid to the writings and character of St. Paul; they had received from a deacon the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the common people by the Greek clergy. They rejected with contempt the Old Testament, and were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship; their trust and belief was in the Father, of Christ, of the human soul, and

and of the invisible world; but they likewise held the eternity of an active being, who created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.

We may estimate the numbers who embraced these opinions in the course of two centuries by the historical fact, that one hundred thousand Paulicians perished by the orthodox zeal of the widow of Theophilus. From their blood and ashes teachers and congregations repeatedly arose, and dispersed themselves over the empire. From which circumstance we may infer this maxim, that the most furious and desperate, and often the most successful of *reformers*, are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, with five thousand of his brethren, renounced the allegiance of anti-christian Rome, and pillaged the provinces of Asia Minor.

At length this persecuted sect, in the thirteenth century, had their own pope resident on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia; and he governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France. The modern Paulicians are subject to the Turkish government, but they have lost all memory of their origin, and their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice.

Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and

the kingdoms beyond the Alps ; but they were most deeply implanted in the county of Albigeois, in the south of France. Pope Innocent III. by the assistance of the inquisition, extirpated by fire and sword the Paulicians in that country. But numbers, both in the church and cloister, protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the oriental sects. The struggles of Wickliffe in England, of Hus in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual ; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude, as the deliverers of nations.

A. D. 811. The glory of the Bulgarians was confined to a narrow scope of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries they reigned to the south of the Danube. The Roman emperor Nicephorus had boldly advanced into the center of their territory ; his camp was surprized by the Bulgarians ; Nicephorus was slain, and his skull, enchased with gold, was often replenished in the feast of victory. Before the end of the same century, a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, and the introduction of the Christian religion, softened the manners of the barbarians ; yet under Simeon, a youth of the royal line, who relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and a warrior, they besieged Romanus the first in his capital ; after his death, his successors were weak and divided ; and in the eleventh century,

tury, Basil the Second accomplished the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria.

The first conquests and final settlement of the Hungarians extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary. In the battle of Augsburgh, the Christians were vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turks; in a single day their Scythian speed stript a circuit of fifty miles. Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, were consumed by the rapid victors; the southern provinces of France were blasted by their presence; and Spain, behind her Pyrennees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers.

A. D. 924. Italy had tempted their early inroads; in a battle near the Brenta, the lives of twenty thousand Christians were forfeited by the rashness of their king, who had refused the barbarians permission to retire; Parvia was condemned to the flames; and their daring incursions were directed, at the same time, towards the gates of Rome and Constantinople.

A. D. 955. Henry the Fowler, and Otho the Great, saved Germany; but twenty years after, that country was again invaded by the Turks. The numbers of the invaders have been estimated at twenty thousand horse; but the policy of Otho had dispelled the conspiracy; and his valour vanquished and broke for ever the power of the Hungarians.

A. D. 839. The name of the *Russians* in the ninth century was first divulged by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the east, to the emperor of the west, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the Czar of the Russians. These requested the French monarch to convey them home by sea; and by a closer examination, they were discovered to be the brethren of the Swedes and Normans; impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they had explored every coast that promised spoil or settlement; they visited the eastern shores of the Baltic; and the Russians of the Lake Pagoda paid a tribute, the skins of the white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*, or corsairs. Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynasty, which reigned above seven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence; and their establishments were at length cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

A. D. 865. The sons of Ruric were masters of the province of Moscow; and the two capitals, Novogorod and Kiow, are
1043. coeval with the first age of the monarchy. The Russians paid frequent visits to Constantinople; but the communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. The luxury of that city excited the desires of these savages, and in less than two centuries, Constantinople was four times attempted by their naval forces. They were

were obliged to retreat either by tempests or by the liquid fire of the Greeks.

A. D. 955. After several conquests by the Russians, Olga, the widow of Igor, assumed the sceptre of her husband; and in a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed for Constantinople, and in the sacrament of baptism received the venerable name of the empress Helena; but on her return to her dominions, her labours in the propagation of the gospel were not attended with the desirable effect. The conversion of her grandson, Wolodomir, was hastened by his desire of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the Christian pontiff; Wolodomir espoused the sister of the emperor Basil, and his edict proclaimed that all who should refuse the baptismal fount, would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient subjects, who embraced that mode of baptism, and thereby acknowledged a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Christian æra, the reign of the gospel and the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. The first conversions were free and spontaneous; but the leaders of nations, who were saluted with the titles of kings and saints, soon held it lawful and pious to *impose* the catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours.

neighbours. The coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. The conversion of the north imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and new Christians. Europe was delivered from the depredations of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians. At this period the rudiments of arts and sciences were introduced into the savage countries of the globe.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks, in Italy—Of the ancient Normans—Conquests of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia—His Victories over the Emperors of the East and West—The Emperor Manuel Comnenus.

A. D. 871. **T**HE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other, on the theatre of Italy. The southern provinces were subject to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum. The Saracens possessed Salerno, Capua, and Benevento, by the invitation of the rival chiefs of those provinces. During two hundred years, the followers of Mahomet sent out annual squadrons from the port of Palermo, which, joined to more important fleets from the African coast, were accustomed to plunder or conquer the cities and provinces on the Mediterranean sea. These depredations provoked the two emperors, Basil the Macedonian, and Lewis, the grandson of Charlemagne. Their united forces invested the fortress of Bari, which after a defence of four years, was surrendered by the Arabian emir to Lewis, who commanded in person.

Apulia,

Apulia, Calabria, Amalfi, and Naples, acknowledged the supremacy of the Byzantine court; but the rapid success of the Norman adventurers dispelled the flattering illusions of the Greek emperors who succeeded Basil.

The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily is an important event both to Italy and the eastern empire. This people had left their cold and inhospitable abode on the frozen shores of the Baltic, and the other parts of the ancient Scandinavia for the milder climate and alluring luxury of the more southern parts of Europe. After they had long indulged themselves in rapine and slaughter, they embraced the Christian faith; and their dukes or leaders acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. They imbibed the language and manners of the French nation; and their pilgrimages to Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land, were frequent and zealous.

A. D. The Duke of Naples built and fortified for their support and use the
1043. town of Aversa, which afforded shelter to every fugitive who had escaped from the justice or injustice of their superiors.

From hence they issued with their allies, and invaded Apulia, and defeated the Byzantine legions. From this æra we may date the establishment of the Norman power; they formed themselves into a military senate, which consisted of twelve Counts, with William of Hauteville, surnamed the *Iron Arm*, at their head.

After

A. D. 1053. After several exploits, they assembled in the plain of Civitella, the Italians were routed, the Germans slain, and the pope captured by the valour of Richard of Averfa, Robert, the famous Guiscard, and Humphrey, count of Apulia; but the Norman conquerors beheld with veneration the person of the Pope, and implored his absolution for having presumed to conquer so sacred a person. A treaty was concluded, by which the past and future conquests of the Normans were sanctioned; the adventurers acknowledged the claim of the pope, by the payment of twelve-pence for every plough land; and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the holy see.

Robert, surnamed Guiscard, or Cunning, had departed from Hauteville, in Lower Normandy, his brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia, but the volunteers of Normandy flocked to his standard. His conquests correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples, and extended over the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia; Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the duchy of Beneventum. The Normans then invaded Sicily, and drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina. That island was restored to the Roman pontiff; new bishops were planted, and the clergy amply endowed.

A. D. 1090. The pope declared by a bull, that the princes of Sicily should be hereditary and perpetual legates of the holy see.

see. The ambition of Guiscard resolved to embrace the first occasion of invading the Roman empire of the east. For this purpose he espoused the cause of the fictitious Michael, a pretender to the Byzantine throne. The land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto; Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, among thirteen hundred knights of Norman race, who led an army of thirty thousand men of every denomination.

He then moved to the siege of Durazzo; his camp was afflicted by a pestilential disease, which swept off ten thousand persons; but amidst every disaster, the mind of Guiscard was invincible; he collected fresh forces from Sicily and Apulia. Alexius had then ascended the throne of Constantinople, having concluded a peace with the Turks, he hastened to the relief of Durazzo, with an army of seventy thousand men. Guiscard, on the approach of the Greeks, called a council of his officers, and exclaimed, "Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The resolution was approved, and Guiscard awaited the approach of the enemy, on the same ground, perhaps, on which Cæsar and Pompey had disputed the empire of the world.

A. D. 1081. On the first onset, the forces of Robert gave way; but Gaita, his wife, though wounded by an arrow, still maintained her ground, and strove, by her example, to rally the flying troops. The voice and

and arm of her husband was more powerful ; the battle was restored ; the Turks and Greeks were dispersed ; and the emperor Alexius burst through the surrounding enemies, and after wandering two days and nights in the mountains, entered the city of Lychnidus. Thirty Norman knights were killed, and with these the impostor Michael, whose death was more honourable than his life. Guiscard entered Durazzo, from whence he marched into the heart of Epirus, traversed the first mountains of Thessaly, approached Thessalonica, and made Constantinople tremble. He was recalled from this rapid progress by the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia, the distress of the pope, and the invasion of Henry, king of Germany.

The Roman pontiff was already besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, when Guiscard advanced at the head of six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, to the relief of the prince of the apostles. Henry retreated when Robert approached, who enjoyed the proud satisfaction of delivering the pope, and compelling the two emperors of the east and west to fly before his victorious arms. But the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome ; an hasty word from him was construed as the signal of sedition ; the holy city was profaned by the licentious vices of the citizens, the Saracens, and the Normans ; and a spacious quarter of Rome, from the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude.

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In the same year Robert resumed the design of his eastern conquests ; and after defeating the Venetian and the Greek brigantines, he aspired to the conquest of Constantinople ; but he died in the island of Cephalaria in the seventieth year of his age.

The dissensions of the Moslems opened the sea coasts of Africa to the enterprizes of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The island, or rock of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily, by Roger, the nephew of Guiscard. Tripoli was the next object of the successful attacks of Roger, whose future expeditions entitled him to assert that he held Africa in subjection.

A. D. The terror of the Norman name
1146. was spread over the provinces of
Greece, and violated by rapine and
cruelty the venerable age of Athens, Thebes,
and Corinth. The progress of their naval armament was marked by two conspicuous events, the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. Louis the Seventh, in his return by sea from an unfortunate crusade, was basely intercepted by the Greeks ; the royal captive was delivered by the fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet. Constantinople and the Hellespont, in the absence of the Greek emperor, were left without suspicion of danger ; the Sicilian admiral cast anchor in the front of the
imperial

imperial city, and pointed his arrows against the palace of the Cæsars.

The legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville, in Lower Normandy, was extinct. But Henry the Sixth of Germany had married the daughter of Roger; Apulia yielded to his power and claims. Ten years after this revolution, the duchy of Normandy was annexed to the crown of France. The sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted by a granddaughter of William the Conqueror to the house of Plantagenet; and the Normans were lost either in victory or servitude among the nations they had vanquished.

CHAPTER XVII.

An Account of the first Crusade—The March of the Latin Princes to Constantinople—Conquest of Nice, Antioch, and Jerusalem—Godfrey of Bouillon, first King of Jerusalem.

AN hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy, visited the holy sepulchre, about twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name. From Jerusalem the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic, and determined to rouse the martial nations of Europe to the deliverance of the holy land. Pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, and applauded his glorious design; and the zealous missionary, invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, traversed with speed and success the provinces of Italy and France. His head bare, his feet naked, his meagre body wrapped in a coarse garment, he preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, in the streets, and in the highways; when he painted the sufferings of the natives of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; when he

challenged

Challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour, every breast glowed with indignation; the rustic enthusiast inspired the passion which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

A. D. 1095. The council, assembled by Urban for considering this important enterprise, met at Placentia, and consisted of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria; four thousand of the laity attended; and the session of seven days was held in a spacious plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius and Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign and the danger of Constantinople. At the sad tale of the misery of their eastern brethren, the assembly burst into tears; and they declared their readiness instantly to march under the holy banner; but the final decision was adjourned to a second synod; and in the autumn of the same year, at Clermont, in the territories of the count Auvergne, the Roman pontiff convened a council not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia.

The orator was interrupted by the shouts of thousands, who, with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it! "God wills it!"—"It is indeed the will of "God," replied the pope, "and let this memorable word be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of
" the

“ the symbol of your salvation ; wear it, a red,
“ a bloody cross, as a pledge of your sacred and
“ irrevocable engagement.” The proposal was joyfully accepted ; great numbers, both of the laity and clergy, impressed on their garments the sign of the cross ; and after a confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends ; and their departure for the holy land was fixed to the festival of the assumption, the fifteenth of August of the ensuing year.

In the middle ages, the bishops and priests interrogated sinners, compelled them to give an account of their thoughts, words, and actions ; and prescribed the terms of their reconciliation with God. A year of penance was valued at about four pounds sterling for the rich, and at nine shillings for the indigent. It is a maxim of the civil law, that whosoever cannot pay with his purse must pay with his body ; and a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes. In the council of Clermont, the pope proclaimed a plenary indulgence to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross ; the absolution of *all* their sins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance. The robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands ; and offenders of every denomination marked their garments with a red cross, as the easiest atonement for their crimes. Turkish spoils, delicious wines, and the beauty of the Grecian women, may be added to the inducements of
this

of this romantic expedition. To defray the preparations, princes sold their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, and peasants their cattle and the instruments of husbandry.

A. D. 1096. Though the fifteenth of August was appointed for the departure of the pilgrims, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes assembled round Peter the Hermit early in the spring. This fanatic assumed the character of a general, and moved with his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and Walter the Penniless, a valiant, though needy soldier, conducted the vanguard of the pilgrims. The footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. The rear was again pressed by two hundred thousand of the refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. The persecution of the Jews was the first warfare of these enthusiasts; and at Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spire, and Worms, many thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred. Many threw themselves into the rivers and flames with their families and property, and disappointed, at least, the avarice of these pretenders to an humble and pure religion. In their march through the wild and extensive countries of Hungary and Bulgaria, the disorders of the pilgrims provoked the ferocious nature of the inhabitants;

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and

and many myriads of the crusaders were the victims of their indignation and revenge. About a third of the naked fugitives, with the hermit Peter, escaped to the Thracian mountains; they were conducted to Constantinople by easy journeys, and ordered to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus by the caution of the emperor Alexius. At length they were allured into the plain of Nice, overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows, and three hundred thousand of the first crusaders perished before a single city was rescued from the infidels, or their brethren had compleated the preparations of their enterprize.

In the first crusade none of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked. The emperor, Henry the Fourth, was not disposed to obey the summons of the Pope, with whom he was at variance; Philip the First of France was occupied by his pleasures; William Rufus of England, by a recent conquest; the kings of Spain were engaged in domestic wars against the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, were yet strangers to the passions and interests of the south. But the religious ardour was strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. The principal of these was Godfrey of Bouillon; his father was of the noble race of the counts of Boulogne; his piety, though blind, was sincere; and in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. The nobles of France, Germany, and Lorraine, marched under his banner. Their
forces

forces alone consisted of fourscore thousand foot, and about ten thousand horse. The French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the British isles followed the standard of Hugh, count of Vermondois, the brother of the king of France; of Robert, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, but who was deprived of the kingdom of England by the activity of his brother Rufus, and of several other subordinate princes. Adhemar, bishop of Pug; Raymond, count of St. Giles and Thoulouse; and Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, led on the pilgrims of the south of Europe.

In these holy wars the military order of knighthood was modelled into a form to suit the sacred orders of priesthood. The sword of the priest was offered on the altar, and blessed by the ministers of religion; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the Archangel. As the champion of God and the ladies, he devoted himself to speak the truth, to protect the distressed, to practise courtesy, to pursue the infidels, and to vindicate in every perilous adventure the honour of his character.

The lance was the proper weapon of the knight; his horse was of a large and heavy breed, and his breast was defended by a coat of mail. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful esquire, a youth of equal birth and equal hopes, and he was followed by his archers and men at arms.

Within nine months from the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached the city of Constantinople; the emperor beheld with astonishment the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations; he hesitated, and thought they might be tempted by the wealth and luxury of Greece, and Jerusalem might be forgotten in the prospect of Constantinople. After much animosity between these religious soldiers and the Byzantine emperor, they were persuaded to pass the Bosphorus, and occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia.

A. D. 1097. The cavalry of the crusaders, when the knights and their martial attendants on horseback were mustered in the plains of Bithynia, consisted of one hundred thousand fighting men completely armed. They advanced in successive divisions from the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, and pressed the city of Nice by land and water; but a Greek emissary persuaded the inhabitants to accept the emperor's protection; and the city was delivered up to Alexius, amidst the murmurs of his allies.

Soliman, the son of the first conqueror of that name, provoked by the loss of Nice, with the united force of the Turkish hords, attacked, or rather surprized, the Christian army near Dorylæum. The crusaders were at first oppressed by the clouds of arrows, the heat of the weather, and the barbarous onset; but the persevering valour of Godfrey restored the battle, and the

the troops of Soliman were forced to yield to the superior strength of their antagonists.

The crusaders pursued their victorious march through the lesser Asia, climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of Mount Taurus; and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, with a select detachment, advanced to the gates of Syria, accepted the invitation of a Greek tyrant, became his son-in-law, inflamed the people of Edeffa to the massacre of his father and their sovereign, and established in that city the first principality of the Franks and Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years, beyond the Euphrates.

A. D. For seven months the Christians attacked the lofty walls of Antioch.
1098.

Famine, desertion, and fatigue, pervaded their camp; and they were indebted to enthusiasm for being delivered from the brink of ruin to salvation and victory. A priest, named Peter Bartholemy, asserted that St. Andrew, in a vision, had revealed to him that the steel head of the lance which had pierced our Saviour's side, was concealed near the high altar in the church of St. Peter, at Antioch; and that the apostle added, "Bear it aloft in battle, and the
" mystic weapon shall penetrate the souls of the
" miscreants." The revelation was eagerly accepted by count Raymond, who was named by the priest as the guardian of this holy weapon; the ground was opened in the appointed place; Bartholemy descended into the pit, and produced the head of a Saracen lance. The first gleams of the steel was received with devout rapture; and

the troops were again inflamed with the enthusiasm of valour. Whatever might be the sentiments of the chiefs, they skilfully improved the decisive opportunity. The gates were thrown open, and the host of the Turks and Arabians were dispersed on that memorable day.

The caliph of Egypt, who then possessed the cities of Jerusalem and Tyre, offered the pilgrims, if they would lay aside their arms, an hospitable reception at the sepulchre of Jesus; but the crusaders rejected this humane proposal of Mostali. They continued their march between Mount Libanus and the sea-shore; and as soon as they descried the holy city, forgot their toils, and claimed their reward.

A. D. Jerusalem, long famous for her memorable sieges, was then garrisoned by
1099. forty thousand Moslems. After having patiently sustained the pressure of hunger and thirst, the Christians were at length triumphant; on a Friday, at three in the afternoon, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. His example was followed on every side by the emulation of his companions; and about four hundred and sixty years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. The garrison and inhabitants were for three days abandoned to a promiscuous massacre, and the Christians were fatigued, rather than fatiated, by the slaughter of seventy thousand Moslems. In this manner did these crowds of fanatics glorify their God, whose sepulchre they visited at the loss of more than
one

one hundred thousand lives ; and all this human blood was shed after they had been offered the privilege of paying periodical adoration to a few stones, which they supposed had enclosed the mortal part of the *God of Humility*.

The pages of history have been deformed ; rivers, woods, edifices, and mountains, have been polluted ; and the minds of men disordered by the various absurd objects of religious worship ; but there generally has been some consistency between the doctrine and the moral actions of the devotees. Yet the pure and humble religion of Christianity has been perverted into a commodious instrument of court influence, a convenient garb for college-indolence and avaricious hypocrisy. Tyrants have embraced it as a powerful and political ally ; and to restrain the freedom of the human mind, have issued edicts which impeach both the sincerity of their religion and the goodness of their hearts. The temples dedicated to the Author of the purest and best religion in the universe are converted into proud theatres, *partitioned* for the commodious display of personal charms, sumptuous apparel, and parochial magnificence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

*Second and third Crusades—Conquest of Jerusalem
by Saladin, King of Egypt and Syria—Richard
the First of England—Fourth and fifth Crusades
—Louis the Ninth of France.*

AFTER the sultan of Egypt had been overthrown in the battle of Ascalon, the Latins were established in Syria; and Godfrey took the command of Jerusalem and Palestine; and was left by the crusaders with an army of two thousand foot soldiers, and three hundred knights, for the defence of their holy possessions. The fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, rendered effectual service in the reduction of Tripoli, Tyre, and Ascalon; the prince of Antioch asserted his independency; but the counts of Edessa and Tripoli acknowledged themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem. The laws, language, and manners of the French nation and the Latin church were introduced into these Asiatic colonies. The crusaders were continually exposed to the attacks of the surrounding Turks and Saracens; they principally confided in the valour of the knights of the hospital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon. These united the different

rent duties of a military and monastic life, and while they devoted themselves to the celibacy of the cloister, were ready to encounter the dangers, and partake the hardships of the field. The donation of twenty-eight thousand farms or manors enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry; and the institution still possesses the rock of Malta.

Bohemond, the son of Guiscard, relinquished the defence of Antioch to his faithful kinsman Tancred, and boldly resumed the design of his father, of arming the west against the Byzantine empire. He privately embarked, and crossed the hostile sea with secrecy and success. In France he was received with approbation and applause, and his dignity was advanced by his marriage with the king's daughter. The bravest warriors of the age enlisted under his command. At the head of five thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, he repassed the Adriatic, and laid siege to Durazzo; but the strength of that city, the precautions of Alexius, the pressure of famine, and the inclemency of the season, disappointed his ambitious hopes. A treaty of peace was negociated, and the death of Bohemond delivered the Greeks from an adversary, daring, indefatigable, and faithless. His sons succeeded to the principality of Antioch, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Byzantine emperors; and the first crusade deferred the fall of the declining empire.

A. D. In the twelfth century, three great
1101. and separate expeditions were under-

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taken

taken for the relief of the Holy Land. First, The soldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany, who were calculated at four hundred thousand; and who marched under the banners of the Dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitaine; the majority of these were destroyed in Anatolia by famine, pestilence, and the Turkish arrows; and the princes only escaped with some squadrons of horse to accomplish their lamentable pilgrimage.

The second crusade was undertaken by the emperor of Germany and the French King, Conrad the Third and Louis the Seventh. The nobles were animated by the presence of their sovereigns; seventy thousand knights, with their immediate attendants, swelled the cavalry to four hundred thousand; and if to these are added the infantry and the monks, the women and the children, the aggregate number must exceed belief, and will almost defy the computation; yet this force, which threatened the extinction of the Moslems, served only to expose the incessant misfortunes of an holy war. The Germans were urged by emulation, the French were retarded by jealousy; and Louis scarce had passed the Bosphorus, when he met the vanquished emperor returning, with the remnant of his army, from a glorious, but unsuccessful action, on the banks of the Mæander. The fate of the French monarch was almost similar. He was surprized and surrounded by the Turks, as he pursued his march with inconsiderate rashness. With difficulty Louis escaped from the fatal arrows of his enemies;

enemies; and after sheltering the relics of his forces in the friendly port of Satalia, he embarked for Antioch; and with Conrad joined the Christian powers of Syria in the fruitless siege of Damascus. Baffled in this final effort, the two monarchs were content to embark for Europe, and their sole acquisition was the personal fame of piety and courage.

A. D. 1189. The grand division of the third crusade was led by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa; the French and English, who embarked in this expedition, preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean; yet Frederic mustered, in the plains of Hungary, fifteen thousand knights and as many squires; and sixty thousand horse were followed by one hundred thousand foot. The veteran genius of the chief imparted confidence to his companions and soldiers; and the Turks were awed by the fame of a prince, who had distinguished himself in forty campaigns; yet famine and disease pursued the fainting steps of the Christians through the barren and inhospitable desert; and when they reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thousand knights were able to serve on horseback. The emperor was drowned in the small stream of Calycadnus. The remainder of his Germans were consumed by sickness and desertion; and the emperor's son, with the greatest part of his Swabian vassals, expired at the siege of Acre.

The Byzantine princes expressed their indignation at the frequent passage of the western

crusaders, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety of the empire. Manuel Comnenus, whose passions were impetuous, and often malevolent, and Isaac Angelus, whose temper was naturally timid, successively conspired to destroy the pilgrims by every species of injury and oppression. The gates of the cities were closely barred against the crusaders, and the scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls; the passes were fortified, and the bridges broke down against them; the sick were burnt in their beds, and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highways. These injuries exasperated the champions of the cross; and they were still further provoked by the pride of the Byzantine court, and the arrogant claims of pre-eminence. The seat of Louis, the French king, had been a low stool beside the throne of the emperor Manuel; but when he had transported his army beyond the Bosphorus, he refused any conference but on equal terms. Conrad and Frederic claimed equally with the Greek the title of emperor; the first would only converse with Manuel in the open field on horseback; the last, by passing the Hellespont, avoided both the city and sovereign of Constantinople. While the Greek emperor regarded with hatred and suspicion the Latin pilgrims, they maintained a secret alliance with the Turks and Saracens. In the reign of Isaac Angelus, a mosque was founded at Constantinople; and in less than three centuries from the first toleration of it, the religion of Mahomet was established in the

the city of Constantinople by the triumphant sword of the Moslems.

Baldwin the Fourth was the legitimate successor to the throne of Jerusalem, but the leprosy deprived him of capacity to reign. His sister Sybilla crowned her second husband, Guy Lusignan; Raymond, count of Tripoli, was so exasperated at his preferment, as to sacrifice his honour, and listen to the temptations of Saladin of Egypt.

A. D. 1187. At the head of fourscore thousand horse and foot, the sultan had formed the siege of Tiberias. Lusignan drained his garrisons, and advanced to the relief of that important place; he was betrayed into a camp destitute of water, by the treachery of Raymond, who fled at the first onset; thirty thousand of the Christians were slaughtered, and Lusignan was conducted a captive into the tent of Saladin. The thirst of the vanquished monarch was relieved by a cup of sherbet; but this pledge of hospitality and pardon was denied to Chatillon, who had pillaged the caravans.—
“The person of a king” said the Sultan, “is sacred; but this robber must instantly acknowledge the prophet, whom he has blasphemed, or meet the death which he has so often deserved.” On the refusal of the Christian warrior, Saladin struck him on the head with his scymeter, and Chatillon was dispatched by the guards. Lusignan was sent to Damascus, and soon ransomed; but the execution of two hundred and thirty knights of the hospital stained

stained the victory of Saladin, who appeared, within three months after the battle of Tiberias, at the gates of Jerusalem.

The Greek and oriental Christians composed the most numerous portion of the inhabitants of the holy city; these preferred the Mahometan to the Latin government. The barons and knights were divided into factions; and queen Sybilla trembled for her own, and her husband's safety. In the space of fourteen days, the forces of Saladin made a breach in the walls of Jerusalem. The supplicant cries of the besieged implored the mercy of the conqueror: Saladin replied, "That the time was now come to revenge the innocent blood shed by Godfrey and the first crusaders." But at length he consented to accept the city, and spare the inhabitants; the Franks and Latins were to evacuate Jerusalem. But the Greek and oriental Christians were permitted to live under the government of Saladin.

A. D. 1192. After a siege of two years, the city of Acre, yielded to the youthful ardour of Philip of France, and Richard, king of England. Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion, was so tremendous to the Turks, that the Saracen mothers used to silence their infants by mentioning his name; and if a horse suddenly started from his way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush!"—Saladin, soon after the fall of Acre, sunk into the grave, and Richard embarked for Europe.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Eastern Emperor's apply for Assistance to the Popes—Union of the Greek and Latin Churches—Reign of Amurath the Second—Reign of Mahomet the Second—Siege, and final Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks—Death of Constantine Palæologus.

WHENEVER the Byzantine princes were encompassed with difficulties; or pressed by dangers, they courted the alliance, and implored the protection of the pope and the Latins; but as soon as the hour of distress was over, they avowed their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the west.

The younger Andronicus sought the alliance and support of the west against the rapid progress of the Turks, who had already conquered Bithynia.

His negotiations were frustrated by the situation and character of the reigning princes. The kings of France and Naples declined the danger and glory of a crusade; and pope Benedict the Twelfth, immersed in sloth and wine, listened coldly to the suspicious language of an union which was to be preceded by a pecuniary and military succour.

John

John Palæologus, alarmed by foreign invasion and domestic insurrection, in hopes of foreign aid, subscribed a treaty, and submitted to an oath of fidelity and obedience to the Roman pontiffs. He stipulated in return the support of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Mussulman enemies; but the treaty was never executed.

But when the Turkish torrent had swept away Adrianople and Romania, and was only resisted by the walls of Constantinople, the desponding Palæologus embarked himself for Venice, with the resolution of prostrating himself at the feet of the pope, and of arousing, by the imperial presence, the cold compassion of the princes of the west. Urban the Fifth, a prelate of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged the pilgrimage of the Greek prince, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost, and was in return entertained with attention and respect. But the pope endeavoured in vain to engage the princes of the west in the cause of this eastern emperor; his return was impeded by the Venetians, who detained him as their security for several sums which he had borrowed from the citizens of the republic; but he was redeemed by his second son Manuel.

When Manuel ascended the imperial throne, he also implored the assistance of the courts of the west. At Venice, Paris, and London, he was pitied, praised, and feasted; but the princes
on

on the continent were too much engaged, either in business or pleasure; and Henry of Lancaster could not withdraw his person and forces from a throne continually assailed by conspiracy and rebellion. Yet Manuel on his return enjoyed one consolation, that in this trying situation he had neither degraded his dignity, nor bartered his religion.

The victories of Tamerlane, and the dissensions of the sons of Bajazet, allowed Manuel to reign successive years in the maintenance of the national religion, and in peace and prosperity; but when Amurath invested the walls of Constantinople, Manuel was readily reconciled to the Roman pontiff; and soon converted to the double procession of the Holy Ghost. A friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the east and the west, and the secret intentions of the Byzantine monarch were unfolded to his colleague and successor, John Palæologus, in the presence of the historian Phranza, his favourite chamberlain. "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks, is the fear of our union with the Latins, who may arm for our relief and their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this dagger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate; and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism,

“ schism, and leave us at the mercy of the barbarians.”

Palæologus arose from his seat, and departed in silence; and the wise monarch, his father, continued his discourse to Phranza. “ The daring spirit of my son might have suited the happier times of our ancestors; but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the relief of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty expectations which he built on our alliance with Mustapha; and much do I fear, that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our downfall.”

Manuel died in the seventy-eighth year of his age in the monastic profession; Palæologus succeeded him, and Andronicus, his second son, was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died soon after the final conquest of that city by the Turks.

Eugenius then filled the chair of St. Peter, at whose solicitation Palæologus set sail from Constantinople to attend a council. The Latins, after the labour of nine months, and the debates of seventy-five sessions, attained the advantage and glory of the re-union of the Greeks.

A. D. Amurath was at this time emperor
1448. of the Turks; he had abdicated his throne, and retired to a society of hermits; but he was recalled by his people to repel the Hungarian invasion. He fought and conquered, and again retired to pray, to fast, and to mortify his body; but the streets of Adrianople

people were filled with tumult, and he was summoned to resume the sceptre, which he held till his death.

An apprehension lest the Turks, who approached, might invade the borders of Italy, induced Philip, the duke of Burgundy, to join his forces to those of St. Peter and Venice, to oppose the progress of the Moslems; the Greek emperor engaged to guard the Bosphorus.

At the head of his confederate subjects, Ladislaus, of Poland, advanced into Bulgaria, and defeated two Turkish armies; thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, graced his triumphal entry into Buda. At the request of the divan, he entered into a treaty of peace, which was sanctioned by a mutual oath. But when the Roman legate, who had been a witness to the late convention, heard that the Turks had been repulsed by the forces of the Greek emperor and the duke of Burgundy, he disgraced himself and his religion by this reply to the victorious Ladislaus—"Be assured, that a
"prior obligation to your fellow Christians an-
"nihilates any oath you may have taken to the
"enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the
"Roman pontiff, without whose sanction you
"can neither promise nor perform. In his
"name, I absolve your perjury, and sanctify
"your arms. Let the punishment and the sin
"be on my head." This pernicious casuistry was applauded; and war was again proclaimed against the Turks.

But

A. D. But ten thousand Christians, who
1444. had sported with a vow made to their
God, perished in the disastrous battle
of Warna, and among these the least to be la-
mented was the cardinal Julian, who had ad-
vised the violation of the treaty.

John Huniades, who governed Hungary,
during the minority of Ladislaus, four years after
the battle of Warna, penetrated into the heart
of Bulgaria; and till the third day withstood, in
the plain of Cossova, the repeated attacks of a
Turkish army four times more numerous than
his own. The defence of Belgrade against the
powers and person of Mahomet the Second, was
the last and most glorious action of his life.
Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish
war; and during twenty-three years, he baffled
the powers of the Ottoman empire, though com-
manded by two of the greatest and most enter-
prizing princes.

The passage of the Turks over the Bosphorus
had exposed the character of John Palæologus to
suspicion, and he expired four years after the
battle of Warna. The soldiers, the clergy, and
the people were unanimous in raising Constantine
to the throne. The weakness of the Greek
empire, and the supremacy of the Turks, was
acknowledged by an embassy to the Ottoman
court, at Adrianople, to know the pleasure of
Amurath respecting the choice of a Greek em-
peror; he dismissed the ambassador with splendid
gifts, and his gracious approbation of the claims
of the eldest son of the late emperor. While
Constantine

Constantine was negotiating a marriage with a princess of Georgia, Amurath was no more; Mahomet had succeeded to the Ottoman throne, and the various negotiations of the Greek emperor were intercepted by a Turkish war, which involved his family and empire in final ruin.

The character of Mahomet the Second, the conqueror of Constantinople, attracts our attention. He was educated in the observance of the Koran, and was so rigid an observer of the laws of the prophet, that as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by washing.

A. D. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, he was distinguished by
1451. his rapid progress in the paths of

knowledge; and to his native tongue were added the acquisition of the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldean, the Latin, and the Greek languages. History and Geography, astrology and mathematics, were among his literary accomplishments. His sobriety has never been questioned, but his thirst of dominion and of cruelty was unbounded, and his unnatural lust too frequently dishonoured the noblest of the captive youth. His victorious career was checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and the Persian king.

The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate the accession, and solicit the friendship of Mahomet the Second; his language was that of peace and moderation. He visited in person, and accompanied by a formidable

dable force, the Asiatic provinces. But the attention of Mahomet was incessantly fixed upon Constantinople; he pronounced that no promises ought to bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; the imprudence of the Byzantine ambassadors afforded him too fair a pretence; instead of endeavouring to escape his observation, they obtruded themselves on his notice, with clamorous demands for the payment, and even the increase of their annual stipend: their indiscretion was reproved by the vizir, a secret friend to the Christians. “Ye foolish and “miserable Romans,” said Calil, “we know “your devices, and ye are ignorant of your “own danger!—the scrupulous Amurath is no “more; his throne is occupied by a young “conqueror, whom no laws can bind, and no “obstacles can resist; and if you escape from “his hands, give praise to the Divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of “your sins. Why do you seek to affright us “by vain and indirect menaces? Arm against “us the nations of the west; and be assured, “that you will only provoke and precipitate “your own downfall.”

Mahomet promised, on his return to Adrianople, to redress the grievances of the Greeks; but he had scarce passed the Hellespont, before he issued an order to erect a strong castle on the side of the Bosphorus, facing a fortification on the Asiatic shore, which had been raised by his grandfather. On a spot called Asomaton, only five miles distant from the Greek capital, a thousand

land masons were directed to assemble in the ensuing spring. In vain did the ambassadors of the emperor represent that this noble fortification was a violation of the treaty; that it would command the freight, interrupt the trade of the nations of the west, and intercept, at discretion, the subsistence of Constantinople.

“ I form no enterprize,” replied the perfidious sultan, “ against the city ; but the empire
“ of Constantinople is measured by her walls.
“ I was a child at Adrianople when the Mos-
“ lems trembled, and for a while the infidels in-
“ sulted our disgrace. But when my father had
“ triumphed in the field of Warna, he vowed to
“ erect a fort on the western shore, and that
“ vow it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye
“ the right, have ye the power, to control my
“ actions on my own ground? For that ground
“ is my own, as far as the shores of the Bos-
“ phorus ; Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and
“ Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return,
“ and inform your king, that the present Otto-
“ man is far different from his predecessors ;
“ that *his* resolutions surpass *their* wishes, and
“ that *he* performs more than *they* could re-
“ solve. Return in safety—but the next who
“ delivers a similar message may expect to be
“ flayed alive.”

Constantine, the emperor of the Greeks, after this declaration, would have unsheathed the sword ; but he was dissuaded by his ministers, who advised him by patience to brand the Ottoman with the guilt of an aggressor, and to de-
pend

pend upon chance and time for the defence of the city, and for the destruction of the hostile fort.

A. D. 1452. On the twenty-fifth of March, the appointed spot of Asomaton was crowded with Turkish artificers; the fort was built in a triangular form, each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower, one on the declivity of the hill, and two along the sea-shore. A thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers, and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. When the Greek emperor desired to have the fields of his subjects protected from pillage, the Turkish guard were ordered by their commanders to turn the horses and mules of the camp into the pastures of the Romans, and to defend their brethren, if molested by the infidels. In consequence of these instructions, several on both sides were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet received with joy the complaints of his subjects; a numerous detachment was sent to avenge their pretended injuries; the gates of Constantinople were shut, and all further intercourse precluded. The Greek emperor was yet desirous of averting the impending destruction; he released the Turkish captives, and expressed in a last letter the resignation of a Christian, and the fortitude of a soldier.

“ Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue,” said he to Mahomet, “ your impious warfare. My trust

“ trust is in God alone ; if it should please him
 “ to soften your heart, I shall rejoice in the
 “ happy change ; if he delivers the city into
 “ your hands, I submit without a murmur to
 “ his holy will ; but until the Judge of the earth
 “ shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to
 “ live and die in the defence of my people.”

The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive ; his fortifications were completed ; and he demanded a tribute from the ships of every nation which passed within reach of his cannon. A Venetian vessel first presumed to refuse ; she was sunk by a single ball ; the master and crew deferred their fate by entering their boats ; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte*, and, on refusing to profess the faith of Mahomet, their chief was impaled alive, and his companions beheaded.

While the Turkish emperor was at Adrianople, the avarice of his grand vizir, Calil, had engaged him in a treasonable correspondence with the Christians. In the middle of the night he was commanded to attend his royal master ; he hastened to the palace with a cup filled with gold, and presented, according to the custom of the east, his offering of gratitude. “ It is not
 “ my wish,” said Mahomet, “ to resume my
 “ gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them
 “ on thy head. In my turn, I ask a present far
 “ more valuable and important—Constanti-
 “ nople.”

The vizir, when he had recovered from his surprize, replied, “ The same God who has
 N “ already

“ already given thee so large a portion of the
“ Roman empire, will not deny the remnant,
“ and the capital. His providence, and thy
“ power, assure thy success ; and myself, with
“ the rest of thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice
“ our lives and fortunes.” “ Lala,” (or pre-
ceptor) said the monarch, “ do you see this pil-
“ low ? All the night, in my agitation, I have
“ pulled it on one side and the other ; I have ri-
“ sen from my bed, again have I laid down ;
“ yet sleep has not visited my weary eyes. Be-
“ ware of the gold and silver of the Romans ; in
“ arms we are superior ; and with the aid of
“ God, and the prayers of the prophet, we shall
“ speedily become masters of Constantinople.”

With a similar ardor he pressed a founder of
cannon, a Dane, or Hungarian, who, almost
starved in the Greek service, had deserted to the
Moslems. He asked this engineer, whether he
was able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a
ball, or stone, of sufficient size to batter the
walls of Constantinople. “ I know the strength
“ of those walls,” answered the renegado, “ but
“ were they more solid than those of Babylon, I
“ could construct an engine of superior power ;
“ but its management must be left to your en-
“ gineers.”

From a foundery at Adrianople, Urban pro-
duced a piece of brass ordnance, the bore of
which measured twelve palms, and the stone ball
weighed above six hundred pounds. On the first
experiment, a proclamation was issued to admo-
nish the people against the effects of its discharge.

The

The explosion was felt in a circuit of a hundred furlongs ; the ball was driven above a mile, and on the spot where it fell, buried itself above a fathom deep in the ground.

While the Turkish emperor was thus preparing for the attack, the Greek monarch solicited the assistance of the princes of the west in vain. The support of the Roman pontiff was tardy and ineffectual ; and Constantinople was taken before the fleets of Venice and Genoa had sailed from their respective harbours. The avarice of the inhabitants denied to their prince the treasures they were soon compelled to yield to the menaces of their enemies ; yet the emperor, indigent and deserted, shrunk not from the approaching peril ; and if his strength was inadequate to the contest, his mind, at least, was equal to the danger.

A. D. Early in the spring, the towns and
1453. villages which yet acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Greeks, were overwhelmed by a torrent of Turks. Having met with resistance from the inhabitants of Selybria, the sultan proceeded to attack the capital ; and, on the sixth of April, invested Constantinople with two hundred and fifty-eight thousand men. The motley crew of mechanics and priests, of women, and of men inferior to women in courage, which still inhabited Constantinople, might amount to one hundred thousand, but only four thousand nine hundred and seventy citizens were to be found able and willing to bear arms. These were reinforced by two thousand strangers, under

the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese, whose hopes of victory were animated by the promised recompence of the isle of Lemnos. A strong chain was drawn across the harbour. The Christian ships which arrived were detained for the public service; and a city which extended thirteen or sixteen miles, was defended by seven or eight thousand soldiers against the united power of the Ottoman empire.

When the emperor pressed the western princes for assistance, his ambassadors were instructed to inform their master, that when he conformed to the western church he should receive temporal aid. Six months before the final destruction of Constantinople, cardinal Isidore was dispatched by pope Nicolas the Fifth with a retinue of priests and soldiers; in the church of St. Sophia, the two nations joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; but the Greeks beheld with horror this religious union; the church which had been polluted by the ministry of a Latin priest was instantly deserted; the frantic people abjured all communion with the present or future associates of the Latins, and Lucas Notaras, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet than the pope's tiara, or a cardinal's hat.

In the beginning of the siege, the Greeks had boldly sallied from the walls, but prudence soon suggested to them to husband their scanty forces. Yet the volunteers, inspired by their heroic emperor, displayed the virtue and courage of ancient

cient Romans, and the auxiliaries maintained that martial reputation which had been acquired by the warriors of the west. The Turkish artillery was superior to that of the Christians; their stock of gunpowder daily diminished, and they feared to plant on the walls their heavy cannon, lest the aged structure should be overthrown by the explosion. The Moslems had already pushed their approaches to the ditch; but their attempts during the day to fill the enormous chasm were frustrated by the mighty toil of the Christians; the skill of the miners was baffled by the rocky soil, but a wooden turret was successfully advanced towards the walls. It was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides; incessant volleys were securely fired from the loop-holes; and the height of it enabled the besiegers to combat hand to hand with the besieged on the rampart. The tower of St. Romanus was overthrown; and though the Turks were repulsed at night, yet they hoped in the morning to renew the combat with decisive advantage; but at dawn of day the sultan beheld with astonishment the persevering valour and labours of the besieged; each moment of darkness had been improved with activity by the emperor and Justiniani; and by the return of light, the wooden turret was reduced to ashes, the ditch cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus again strong and entire.

On the first apprehension of a siege, Constantinople had negociated for supplies with the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily. Five

ships sailed from the harbour of Chios for the service of the capital. They passed with a strong and favourable gale through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land, and the Turkish fleet, in the form of a crescent, stretched from shore to shore, at the entrance of the Bosphorus. The five Christian ships continued their course with cheerful shouts against a hostile force of three hundred vessels; the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were crowded with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. But the fleet of the Moslems, except eighteen galleys of some force, consisted of open boats; their sailors were awkward, and the janissaries trembled on an element to which they had never been accustomed. The Christian squadron was manned by the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea; their weight scattered the obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters, and their liquid fire was poured on the heads of their adversaries. In two different attacks the Turks were repulsed with loss; the voice and presence of the emperor Mahomet, on the beach, urged them on to a third attempt; the passions of his soul, the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, with a fearless and impotent effort, the haughty Mussulman spurred his horse into the sea; but he was compelled to behold the defeat of his subjects. The Turkish fleet fled to the shores of Asia and Europe, while
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the Christian squadron triumphantly anchored within the chain of the harbour.

Mahomet conceived the bold design of transporting his lighter vessels by land, about ten miles, from the Bosphorus to the higher part of the harbour. A level way was covered by planks, made slippery by the fat of sheep and oxen. In one night, by the help of rollers and pulleys, they accomplished this novel voyage; fourscore light gallies were brought and launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks.

As soon as Mahomet had taken possession of the harbour, he constructed, in the narrower part of it, a large mole, and mounted on it one of his largest cannon. In an attempt to destroy the unfinished works, the foremost galliots of the Greeks were sunk or taken; forty gallant Christian youths were inhumanly massacred by the command of the sultan, and the Greek emperor could only avenge their fate by exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulmen.

A siege of forty days proclaimed the approaching ruin of Constantinople; the breaches were increased, the garrison was diminished, and the remnant of Christian strength was impaired by discord. The twenty-ninth of May was fixed by the sultan, and was sanctioned by his favourite science of astrology, for the fatal and final assault. The Mahometan priests proclaimed to those who should fall in the holy enterprize

immortal youth, amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins.

The sultan promised the temporal incentive of double pay. "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich and happy. Many are the provinces of my empire; the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy, and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and his fortunes above the measure of his own hopes."

Such potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, and the camp resounded with the shouts of "God is God! there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God!"

The minds of the Christians were agitated by far different passions; despair and fear by turns occupied their bosoms; the noblest of the youths were summoned by Palæologus, the Greek emperor, to the imperial palace, and he vainly attempted to infuse into their minds the hope to which he himself was a stranger. Yet this band of warriors was animated by the example of their prince; with a few faithful companions, the emperor entered the dome of St. Sophia, and devoutly received the sacrament of the holy communion; he solicited the pardon of those whom he might have injured; and after a few moments repose in the palace, he mounted his horse

horse to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy.

The foremost ranks of the Turks consisted of a various crowd, without order or discipline, but inflamed with the spirit of enthusiasm; the Greeks were fatigued with incessant slaughter, and the ditch filled with the innumerable bodies of the assailants. To these succeeded the more regular troops of Anatolia and Romania, led on by their respective bashaws; but the Christians still maintained their superiority; and the voice of the emperor was heard exhorting his companions and subjects by a last effort to achieve the deliverance of their country; but in the moment of lassitude, the janissaries rose fresh and vigorous, and poured the fury of their arms on their faint and feeble opponents. The tide of battle was impelled by the sultan himself, who, on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, reproved the tardy, and applauded the ardent. A bullet, or arrow, had pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani, and the wounded chief withdrew from his station. His retreat was perceived by the emperor: "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?"—"I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks" At these words he passed through a breach of the inner walls, and sacrificed his honour, to preserve at Galata, a few hours of life, embittered by his own reflections and the reproach of the public

His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries ; and the defence became every moment more slack, and the assault more vigorous. Hassan, the janissary, was the first who mounted the walls, and deserved the reward of the sultan. A crowd of Turks impetuously succeeded ; and the Greeks, driven from the rampart, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. The remnant of the nobles still fought round the person of the emperor, who mournfully exclaimed, " Cannot there be found a " Christian to cut off my head ! " His last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. He had before prudently cast away the purple ; in the confusion of the attack, he fell by an unknown hand ; his body was buried under a monument of slain, and was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. With his life resistance expired ; the Turks poured in on every side ; the walls which had defied the Goths, which had resisted the united force of the Avars and Persians, now yielded to the superior enthusiasm of the Moslems ; and the race of Othman, the disciples of Mahomet, established their government and their religion in the palace and the churches which had been founded by Constantine the Great.

By the capture of Constantinople, and the death of the last of the Greek emperors, the Roman empire might be considered as extinguished. Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of Palæologus, descended from their tottering thrones, resigned their government of the
Morea

Morea to the Turkish conqueror, and submitted to acknowledge his clemency, and flumber through life in a state of servile dependence. The lofty Genius of Mahomet aspired to the conquest of Italy; but his dreams of dominion were dissipated by the summons of death, and ancient Rome was probably preserved, by his seasonable fate, from the threatened yoke of Mahometan conquerors.

Pope Sixtus had already prepared to abandon the venerable city; he was saved from a disgraceful flight beyond the Alps by the welcome intelligence that Mahomet the Second was no more. Rome had equally suffered from the hostile enterprizes of the Christians and barbarians, and time and nature had mutually conspired against the mistress of the Roman world. In the fourteenth century her temples were prostrate, her columns broken, her statues overthrown; the lofty capitol, the seat of heroes and demi-gods, was overgrown by vines and brambles; and the forum, where the Roman people enacted their laws, was turned into a garden, or portioned into sties, and polluted by the most filthy of the animal creation. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the popes, Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sextus the Fifth, began to repair the ruins of Rome; the fallen columns were once more erected; three of the eleven aqueducts were carefully explored, and new temples and palaces were decorated by the pencil of Raphael and the chissel of Michael Angelo. After so many revolving centuries, Rome

still attracts the presence, and commands the admiration of the learned and curious traveller; he gazes with astonishment on the stupendous works of ancient magnificence, and traces with devout veneration the footsteps of heroes and of consuls.

CHAPTER XX.

The political Constitution of France in the middle Ages—The Monarchs of France extend their Prerogative—The Introduction of Standing Armies into Europe—Italy invaded by Charles the Eighth of France.

AS the governments and political constitutions of Athens and Sparta, though they may cease to influence modern nations, form a pleasing and instructive lesson to the student and to the senator, so a review of the rise and progress of the late oppressive monarchy, which, aided by aristocratic confederacy, enslaved the numerous, but intelligent inhabitants of France, must be replete with instruction to the young historian; and the more so, because the recent and unexampled explosion of the enormous *Temple of Despotism*, with the downfall of priestcraft and tyranny, have resounded in his ears; and the *immortal fabric of liberty* raised upon their ruins, by having attracted his regard, must become the object of his future admiration.

When the death of Henry the Fifth of England had delivered the French from the direful necessity of having a foreign master seated on their throne, and reduced the English possessions in
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France to the narrow precincts of Calais, and its petty territory, the Gallic sovereigns, conscious of this acquisition of strength, began to form bolder schemes of interior policy, as well as of foreign operations. From this period that country rose to new influence in Europe, and was the first power in a condition to give alarm to the jealousy or fears of the surrounding states.

During the obstinate struggles between France and England, all the defects of the military system under the feudal government were sensibly felt. In order to obtain such permanent and effective force as became requisite during these lengthened contests, the kings of France took into their pay considerable bands of mercenary soldiers, levied sometimes among their own subjects, and sometimes in foreign countries. But as the feudal policy provided no sufficient fund for such extraordinary service, these adventurers were dismissed at the close of every campaign, or upon any prospect of accommodation; and having been little accustomed to the restraints of discipline, they frequently turned their arms against the country which they had been hired to defend. A body of troops kept constantly on foot, and regularly trained to military subordination, would have supplied what was wanting in the feudal constitution, and have furnished princes with the means of executing enterprizes to which they were then unequal. Such an establishment, however, was so repugnant to the genius of feudal policy, and so incompatible with the privileges and pretensions of the nobility,

lity, that, during several centuries, no monarch was ever so bold, or so powerful, as to venture any step towards introducing it.

A. D. At last Charles VII. availing himself of the reputation which he had
1445. acquired by his successes against the English, and taking advantage of the impressions of terror which such a formidable enemy had left upon the minds of his subjects, executed that which his predecessors durst not attempt. Under pretence of keeping always on foot a force sufficient to defend the kingdom against any sudden invasion of the English, he, at a time when he disbanded his other troops, retained under arms a body of nine thousand cavalry, and of sixteen thousand infantry. He appropriated funds for the regular payment of these, and appointed the officers, who commanded and disciplined them. The first of the nobility courted this service, in which they were taught to depend on their sovereign, to execute his orders, and to look upon him as the judge and rewarder of their merit. The feudal militia, composed of the vassals whom the nobles could call out to follow their standard, as it was in no degree comparable to a body of soldiers regularly trained to war, sunk gradually in reputation. In less than a century, the nobles and their military, though sometime summoned to the field, according to ancient form, were considered as an incumbrance upon the troops with which they acted, and were viewed with contempt by soldiers accustomed to the
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the vigorous and steady operations of regular service.

Thus the regulations of Charles the Seventh, by establishing the first standing army known in Europe, occasioned an important revolution in its affairs and policy. This innovation gave a deep wound to feudal aristocracy, by depriving the nobles of the direction of the national military force of the state, which had raised them to such high authority and importance.

In order to suppress or counteract the rising superiority which the forming a body of regular troops gave to France, the most considerable nations of Europe were induced to follow her example, and introduced mercenary troops among their feudal forces. And it has long been the chief object of policy with those who are interested in the duration of tyranny and oppression, to increase and support these standing armies, over which they have the absolute direction and command.

Charles the Seventh not only established that formidable body of regular troops, which has just been mentioned, but he was the first monarch of France who, by his royal edict, without the concurrence of the states general of the kingdom, levied an extraordinary subsidy on his people. By these means he acquired such an increase of prerogative, that, from being the most dependent Prince who ever swayed the sceptre of France, he came to possess, during the latter years of his reign, a degree of authority which none of his predecessors had enjoyed for

for several ages. His son, Lewis the Eleventh, carried on with a bolder and more undisguised spirit, and infinite superiority of success, that plan of humbling the nobility which his father had formed. Subtle, unfeeling, and cruel, he scorned all the restraints which a sense of honour, or the desire of fame, inspire in the minds of ambitious men. Sagacious enough, at the same time, to discern his true interest; and influenced by that alone, he was capable of pursuing it with a persevering industry, and of adhering to it with a systematic spirit, from which no object could divert, and no danger could deter him. The maxims of his administration were fatal to the privileges of the nobility. He filled all the departments of government with new men, and often with persons whom he called from the lowest as well as from the most despicable functions in life, and raised at pleasure to stations of great power or trust. His nobles felt themselves so much neglected, and even despised, that they retired to their castles, where they remained unemployed and forgotten. Persons of the highest rank among them, if so bold as to oppose his schemes, or so unfortunate as to awaken the jealousy of his capricious temper, were prosecuted with a rigour, from which all who belonged to the order of nobility had hitherto been exempt; they were tried by judges who had no right to take cognizance of their actions; and were subjected to torture, or condemned to an infamous death, without regard to their birth or condition.

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The people, accustomed to see the blood of the most illustrious personages shed by the hands of the common executioner; to behold them shut up in dungeons, and carried about in cages of iron, began to view the nobility with less reverence than formerly, and looked up with terror to the royal authority, which seemed to have humbled or annihilated every other power in the kingdom.

What the enlarged prerogative of Lewis could not effect, his address procured. He was the first monarch in Europe who discovered the method of managing those great assemblies in which the feudal policy had vested the power of granting subsidies and of imposing taxes. He first taught other princes the fatal art of beginning their attack on public liberty, by corrupting the source from whence it should flow. By exerting his power and address in influencing the election of representatives, by bribing or overawing the members, and by various changes which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, he acquired such entire direction of these assemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient in promoting the most odious measures of his reign.

The example of Lewis of France was too inviting not to be imitated by other princes.— Henry the Seventh, as soon as he was seated on the throne of England, formed the plan of enlarging his own prerogative, by breaking the power of the nobility. He enacted laws, by
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which he permitted the barons to break the entails of their estates, and to expose them to sale; and made regulations to prevent the nobility from keeping in their service those numerous bands of retainers, which rendered them formidable and turbulent; and he made such imperceptible alterations in the English constitution, that he transmitted to his successor authority so extensive, as rendered him one of the most absolute monarchs in Europe, and capable of the greatest and most vigorous efforts.

Upon the decease of Lewis the Eleventh of France, the mild reign of Charles the Eighth, his son, a weak but generous prince, seems to have revived the spirit and genius of the French nation, which the rigid despotism of his father had depressed, and almost extinguished. The ardour for military service returned, and their young monarch was impatient to distinguish his reign by some splendid enterprize. While he was uncertain towards what quarter he should turn his arms, the solicitations and intrigues of an Italian politician, no less infamous on account of his crimes than eminent for his abilities, determined his choice.

Ludovico Sforza, having formed the design of deposing his nephew, the duke of Milan, and of placing himself on the ducal throne, was so much afraid of a combination of the Italian powers to oppose this measure, that he saw the necessity of securing the aid of some able protector. The king of France was the person to whom he applied; and without disclosing to him his own intentions,

intentions, he laboured to prevail with him to march into Italy, at the head of a powerful army, in order to seize the crown of Naples, to which he had pretensions, as heir of the house of Anjou. But that sagacious monarch, though he took immediate possession of those territories of which Charles of Anjou was really master, totally disregarded his ideal title to a kingdom, over which another prince reigned in tranquillity; and uniformly declined involving himself in the labyrinth of Italian politics. His son, more adventurous, or more inconsiderate, embarked eagerly in this enterprize; and contemning all the remonstrances of his most experienced counsellors, prepared to carry it on with the utmost vigour.

Charles increased the ample prerogative and extensive domains left him by his father, by his prudent marriage with the heiress of Bretagne; he purchased the friendship of Maximilian, by relinquishing his father's acquisitions in Artois, not to molest France while he was carrying on his operations in Italy.

A. D. 1494. This French monarch entered Italy at the head of twenty thousand men and a considerable train of artillery. The Italian powers had at that time formed a system with respect to their affairs, both in peace and war, peculiar to themselves. Their effeminate and mercenary troops were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk at its approach. The impetuosity of the French valour appeared to them irresistible. Florence, Pisa, and

and Rome, opened their gates as the French army advanced. The prospect of this dreadful invasion struck one king of Naples with such panic terror, that he died of the fright. Another abdicated the throne from the same pusillanimous spirit. A third fled out of his dominions as soon as the enemy appeared on the Neapolitan frontiers. Charles, after marching thither from the bottom of the Alps, with as much rapidity, and almost as little opposition, as if he had been on a progress through his own dominions, took quiet possession of the throne of Naples, and intimidated or gave law to every power in Italy.

Such was the conclusion of this expedition, which must be considered as the first great exertion of those new powers which the princes of Europe had acquired, and now began to exercise, after the Roman legions were known only in the pages of history, and *Roman greatness* had fallen to the degrading baseness of adding an *ideal* title to a German emperor. The effects of this expedition were no less considerable than its success had been astonishing. The Italians, unable to resist the impression of the enemy which broke in upon them, permitted the French monarch to hold on his course undisturbed. They quickly perceived, that no single power which they could rouse to action, was an equal match for a monarch who ruled over such extensive territories, and was at the head of such a martial people ; but that a confederacy might accomplish what the separate members of it durst
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not attempt. While Charles was wasting his time at Naples in festivals and triumphs on account of his past successes, or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the east, to the empire of which he aspired, they formed against him a powerful combination of almost all the Italian states, supported by the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand, king of Arragon. The union of so many powers, who suspended or forgot all their particular animosities, that they might act with concert against an enemy who had become formidable against them all, awakened Charles from his thoughtless security. He saw now no prospect of safety but in returning to France. An army of thirty thousand men assembled by the allies, was ready to obstruct his march; and though the French, with a daring courage, which more than counterbalanced their inferiority in number, broke through that great body, and gained a victory, which opened to their monarch a safe passage into his own territories, he was stripped of all his conquests in Italy in as short a time as it had taken to acquire them; and the political system in that country resumed the same appearance as before his invasion.

The effects of this confederacy seems to have instructed the statesmen of Italy as much as the irruption of the French had disconcerted and alarmed them. European princes had now learnt the art of preventing any monarch from rising to such a degree of power as was inconsistent with the general liberty, and had manifested the importance of attending to that great secret in modern

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dern policy, *the balance of power*. During all the wars of which Italy from that time was the theatre, and amidst the hostile operations which the imprudence of Lewis the Twelfth, and the ambition of Ferdinand of Arragon, carried on in that country, with little interruption, from the close of the fifteenth century to the reign of the emperor Charles the Fifth, the maintaining a proper balance of power between the contending parties became the great object of attention to the statesmen of Italy. "From this æra," says Dr. Robertson, "we can trace the progress of that intercourse between nations, which has linked the powers of Europe so closely together; and can discern the operations of that provident policy, which, during peace, guards against remote and contingent dangers; which, in war, hath prevented rapid and destructive conquests."

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